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MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

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Jefferson Memorial
ST. LOUIS

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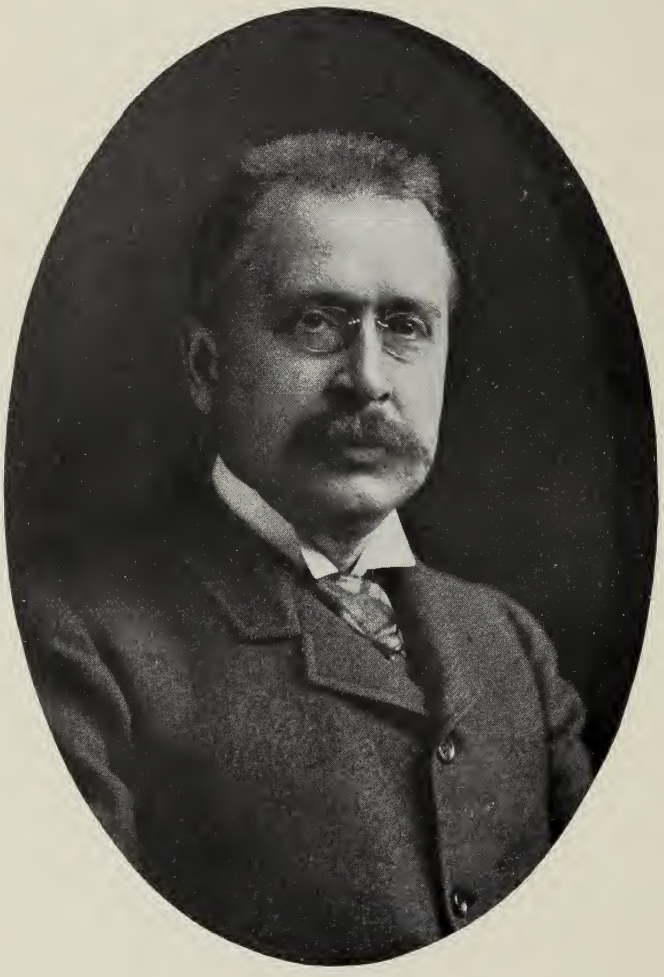

WALTER BOND DOUGLAS

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS*

VOL. IV. ST. LOUIS, 1923. NO. 4

THE SOCIETY DISCLAIMS RESPONSIBILITY FOR VIEWS EXPRESSED BY CONTRIBUTORS

WALTER BOND DOUGLAS.

By CHILTON ATKINSON.

If history be considered the book of practice as distinguished from theory; if it gives to posterity the benefits of the experience of those gone before without subjecting them to the pain; if it saves from suffering and injustice; if it stimulates to great endeavor, turns people from envy, false pride, and the pursuit of false gods: Then, indeed, is the historian a valuable friend to mankind.

In the truest sense Judge Walter B. Douglas was the historian. He was devoted to the cause of history, and in spite of the fact that he wrote little for publication, his reputation as such had spread to many parts of this Continent and even into Europe.

Given the material, there are many persons who can write well enough. But few have either the ability, or the desire to distinguish the genuine from the false. In the discovery, collection, selection, preservation and proper appreciation of the material lies the true genius for history. In respect of these things Judge Douglas had earned his fame.

As one historian, Mr. Joseph B. Thoburn, said of him: "The world can never spare a man of that type. His work was of a constructive and enduring character, and is more to be prized because it was

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unselfish and thorough." Mr. George Bird Grinnell said: "I never knew Judge Douglas personally, though his name and what he had accomplished are very familiar to me. It is a melancholy thing that he should have gone. His work on the James book was most interesting and valuable and it is a sad thing that all the great knowledge of early days which he possessed is lost."

This article would be incomplete without setting forth the appreciation of his character on the editorial page of the Westliche-Post of St. Louis, November 9, 1920, as follows:[2]

"The death of former Circuit Judge Walter B. Douglas must be considered a serious loss, not only to the city of St. Louis, but to the whole State of Missouri, for to both, he was an enthusiastic friend and advocated a better knowledge of local history and appreciation of home ties.

The deceased had gradually developed the history of our State, into a life work, to the fulfillment of which, he devoted all his leisure hours. He was indefatigable in his efforts to develop a better appreciation of the importance and significance of a thorough knowledge of our more immediate City, County and State, thereby increasing our understanding for wider fields; no sacrifice was too great for him in the achievement of this end.

Death took him at a time when after many years of labor, he was about to perpetuate in book form, the results of his lifework.

For himself, he never demanded appreciation, to say nothing of honors; that which he did, was done from most unselfish enthusiasm; he was a part of his work, and it will be difficult to find a successor.

As a lawyer Walter B. Douglas had a stainless reputation; both as counsel and judge, he manifested the same conscientious behavior which characterized his private life—at all times the substance was of more importance than the person and he was animated in his professional career by the highest conceivable

[2] Translated by Dr. Herman von Schrenk.

ideals. He seldom appeared in public of late, but in spite of this, he maintained to the last, a kindly interest in the development of the community, and all movements which aimed at betterment found in him an able and enthusiastic supporter.

He will continue to live in the lives and hearts of all those who follow higher interests as contrasted with mere material well-being.

Walter B. Douglas has left us a mine of truly noble concept. He was an idealist in the best sense of the word."

Walter Bond Douglas was born in Brunswick, Chariton County, Missouri, December 20, 1851. He was the only child of James Marsh and Caroline (Bond) Douglas. He first attended Tillotson's Seminary at Brunswick, and afterwards Westminster College, from which he graduated with the degree of A.B. in 1873. In 1877 he graduated from Harvard University with the degree of L.L.B., and the following February was admitted to the Bar in Missouri. In May, 1878, he commenced the practice of law in St. Louis, afterwards forming a partnership with William H. Scudder, Jr. Mr. Scudder was a nephew of Charles Scudder, Public Administrator, and Judge Douglas ,through this connection, came into the extensive practice of probate law.

In 1897 Judge Douglas formed a partnership with Honorable John M. Wood, formerly Attorney-General of the State and Judge of the Circuit Court in St. Louis, under the firm name of Wood and Douglas. In November 1900 Judge Douglas was elected on the Democratic ticket to be one of the judges of the St. Louis Circuit Court and held this office from January 1901 to 1907.

In March 1897 he was elected to membership in Missouri Historical Society and was a member of its Advisory Board, which is the controlling body of the Society, from 1900 to the time of his death. He served as President of the Society in the years 1903-1904,

and thereafter served continuously as Vice-President and Chairman of the Library Committee.

On April 29, 1891 Judge Douglas was married in St. Louis, Missouri, to Francesca B. Kimball, daughter of Benjamin and Francesca (Lopez) Kimball, and granddaughter of Ezekiel B. and Antoinette (Soulard) Kimball. To her he was a devoted husband and he was a most devoted father to his children: Antoinette, Marjory, James Marsh, Francis Paxton and William Cerre, each of whom had attained majority or nearly so at the time of his death. This occurred after an illness of three weeks on Sunday, November 7, 1920.

Judge Douglas was a conscientious, painstaking and thorough lawyer. He had an uncommon knowledge of the fundamentals in the science and philosophy of the law. His habit of study and his disposition to be thorough in every task made him a counsellor and brief-writer of first ability. His special accomplishments may be said to have been in counsel, the preparation of briefs, and in argument before appellate courts.

Love of research, passion for the truth, and for preserving the truth, and a love of his native State, developed Douglas the lawyer into Douglas the historian. For many years his work along historical lines ran parallel with his labors at the law and he led himself to believe that the work in matters of history was a diversion from the cares of business life. As time went on the demands of history drew him more and more into new by-ways of labor. He was receiving so many calls for aid from writers and historians that this labor of love encroached more and more upon the domain of the law. It grew to be one of the great passions of his life and it was a very considerable sacrifice which he made to a great cause.

Judge Douglas was not a propagandist; his dignity of character and love of truth guided him away from such temptation. This does not mean that he was

free from all prejudice, or easily led from old and cherished convictions. However, one of the most interesting of his characteristics was a disposition to abandon the much loved theory when he found it was builded upon the sand.

Wherever Judge Douglas pursued his labors, whether at his home or at his office, there would be seen vast shelves of books, and piles of manuscripts, guides, maps, digests and catalogues. He could not bear to give up the possession of anything that shed light upon the law or upon history. If an orderly arrangement of things demanded that a book or paper be put beyond easy access, then order must be sacrificed. The results were sometimes astonishing and gave his friends many opportunities for merrymaking and jest. His disposition to give up no pursuit until the object was gained had the effect of multiplying his stores of unfinished work.

With a student's dread of any upheaval, Judge Douglas was reluctant to move his office or change his furniture, however seductive the prospect. His friends will remember his attachment for the old walnut desk, which followed him to the Court House when he ascended the Bench and back again when he returned to the Bar. It was indeed an example of high art in cabinet work and quite a magic institution; it closed up compactly into a shape somewhat like that of a beetle but when opened presented a veritable wall of file boxes. Here was a vast store of memoranda covering a multitude of subjects, well catalogued in his own brain, but not otherwise. To disarrange those files would have been to destroy the index to the whole collection. On one sad occasion a well-meaning friend sent, unannounced, the gift of a handsome new desk. The confusion of Judge Douglas over this dilemma was painful to see, and it was a long time before he could be persuaded to displace the old friend with the new. He was the same

way in his attachment for people. Once in his confidence there was little chance of a person being dislodged.

In the editorial set out above, reference is made to the attitude of Judge Douglas toward the ethics of his profession. In this connection we indulge in a quotation from William Vincent Byars in his excellent biography: "Judge Douglas illustrated on the Bench and at the Bar those principles which make the law a profession of dignity and usefulness. He might have taken the Virginia lawyer's oath of the eighteenth century, viz.: 'You shall do no falsehood, nor consent to any to be done in Court, and if you know of any to be done, you shall give notice thereof to the justices of the court that it may be reformed. You shall delay no man for lucre or malice, nor take any unreasonable fee. You shall not wittingly or willingly sue or procure to be sued, any false suit, or give aid or counsel to the same, upon pain of being disabled to practice as an attorney forever. And furthermore you shall use yourself in the office of an attorney within the Court according to your learning and discretion. So help you God.' "[1]

An incident in the law practice of Judge Douglas may be of interest here. The Judge found divorce cases very distasteful. However, his services were available to deserving persons who needed the aid of this remedy of the law. On one occasion a woman appealed to him for aid in getting a divorce, and he told her plainly that if she was intending to remarry he would not take the case. He had no idea of offending the dignity of the Court by making it a mere instrumentality for swapping husbands. The lady told him that nothing was further from her thoughts than the idea of remarriage. The Judge accordingly secured for her a decree of divorce. The day after

[1] Hening's Statutes, V. 4, p. 361.

the decree was handed down by the Court the lady remarried, and upon hearing of it the Judge was greatly shocked. He brought the matter to the attention of the trial judge who promptly set aside the decree. Let no one suppose from the above incident that he was actuated by revenge or ill-temper. His action was entirely due to his respect for the law and for the courts. The woman was not an innocent party. While still married she had permitted a man other than her husband to make love to her. The Court must be informed of the deception;—"If you know of any falsehood to be done, you shall give notice thereof to the justices of the court that it may be reformed."

Here was the Scotchman, indeed. Persons who knew Judge Douglas do not need to be reminded of his Scotch descent; not because he talked of his Scotch ancestry, but because his natural temperament was decidedly Scotch. Almost everything in his life was the result of his Scottish earnestness and tenacity of purpose. He grew to love the graceful, easy-going, sparkling temperament of the French, but he lingered in the lap of Scotland nevertheless.

Among his earliest recollections was that of being taken upon his father's knee and listening to stories from Scottish history, along with which his father pointed out the scenes on a map of Scotland. Judge Douglas was accustomed to entertain his own children on their birthdays by calling in a kilted Scotchman to play for them on his bag-pipe.

The father whose early influence did so much to form the character of the subject of this sketch, James Marsh Douglas, was of a family of Scottish Whigs. They came of William Douglas, born about 1610, immigrant from Scotland to Boston about 1640, and in the direct line was James Douglas. The latter with his wife, Rachel Marsh, conducted the first school in

Cornwall, Connecticut. James Marsh Douglas, son of Colonal Benajah Douglas, was born March 23, 1812. His mother was left a widow with eight children when he was but sixteen years of age, which circumstance delayed the completion of his education. At the age of twenty-three years he entered Middlebury College and graduated in 1838 with the degree of A.B. In 1843 he received the degree of A.M. and went to Columbia, South Carolina. There he taught school for six months. From there he went to Rutherfordtown, North Carolina, where he taught school for a year. He then went to Lexington, Kentucky, then the chief place of the southwest for wealth, talent and culture. There he spent several very happy years, numbering among his friends the Prestons, Clays, Marshalls and other families of prominence and culture. He attended Transylvania University, receiving the degree L.L.B. in March 1845.

From Lexington, Kentucky, he went by boat to Brunswick, Chariton County, Missouri, where he spent the remaining years of his life. On the way Mr. Douglas stopped at St. Louis, meeting an old college friend, Melvin L. Gray—then and until his death in September 1904, a valued citizen of St. Louis. Mr. Douglas was examined and admitted to the Bar at St. Louis by Judge John M. Krum of the Circuit Court.

When he reached Brunswick it was a thriving young river town, populated mostly by Kentuckians and Virginians. Its situation upon the Missouri River made it one of the principal distributing points for northern Missouri and Iowa, there being no railroad in Missouri at that time. Here he practiced law, riding the circuit of nine counties, which reached to the western border of the State, until October 23, 1850, when he married Caroline, daughter of Asa and Lucy (Janes) Bond, at Cornwall, Connecticut. Upon his return he went into farming and mercantile business

because as a lawyer he was kept away from home while he followed the court on the circuit.

In politics Mr. Douglas was first a Whig; in 1860 he supported the Bell and Everett ticket, and afterwards became a Republican. During the War between the States, he was an uncompromising Unionist and was postmaster at Brunswick under the Lincoln administration. A great majority of the citizens of that portion of Missouri took sides with the South in this War, and nearly every family sent its representative, oftentimes all of its able-bodied men, to the Confederate Army. These people were his friends and associates, and his efforts to protect their families from oppression at the hands of the irregular and half-way independent bodies of Federal and Unionist guerrillas which overran the State, made him so unpopular with a certain class of his own party that his life was often in great danger. In 1864 a man was taken out by one of these bands to be shot under the mistaken idea that he was Mr. Douglas, who fortunately was out of the State at that time.

For several years after the War James Marsh Douglas was on the bench of the Court of Common Pleas, but he never again became active in the practice of the law .

From this sturdy character; who fought for an education, despite obstacles; who supported the Constitution, despite its protection of slavery; who stood for the Union at the risk of the Constitution, and who fought his own partisans when they sought to do injustice, sprung Walter Bond Douglas. Although the father was a Republican in politics the independence of thought in which he trained his son permitted the latter to embrace the Democratic faith.

Among the few published works of Judge Douglas were: Address of May 13, 1909, "The Sieurs de St. Ange," published in *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society,* Number 14; "Spanish Domi-

nation of Upper Louisiana," published in *Proceedings of the State Historical Society* of Wisconsin 1913; "Manuel Liza," published in *Missouri* Historical Collections, vol. 3, nos. 3 and 4. His editorial work and annotation of James' Three years among the Indians and Mexicans" (a reprint of a very rare pamphlet) was of a high standard in scholarship and a contribution to western history. He edited the Missouri Historical Society Collections for many years, supplying most of the notes and contributing many short articles. He left several works intended for publication but unfinished, among them a textbook on the law of Evidence.

IN MEMORIAM—WALTER B. DOUGLAS.[3]

It is with no ordinary sense of their loss as friends and co-workers that the Trustees of the Missouri Histrical Society record the passing of Vice-President Walter B. Douglas.

The people of St. Louis knew him as an upright judge who had done honor to the Circuit Bench; as a member of the Bar who exemplified the finest ideals of the legal profession. They recognized in him the useful citizen who with unselfish interest was always ready to give his thought and time to public movements for the common good.

The Trustees of the Missouri Historical Society knew their Vice-President as the official who for more than twenty years had been the mainstay of the organization, carrying on not only cheerfully but with

[3] Resolution adopted by Advisory Board, Mo. Hist. Soc., Dec. 8th, 1920.

enthusiasm the burden of the details. That the library, the manuscripts, the archives, the fur trade correspondence, the war trophies, and the varied collections of the Society have grown until they tax the spacious Jefferson Memorial, is due to Vice-President Douglas in a greater degree than to any other one person.

Even earlier than the World's Fair of 1904, Judge Douglas had become identified with the Missouri Historical Society and was making its development along the best lines a labor of love.

He superintended the historical exhibit for the Society at the World's Fair.

He was one of the foremost workers for the week-long celebration of the Centennial of the incorporation of the City of St. Louis.

He contributed in no small measure to the Pageant and Masque.

These qualities were known to and appreciated by his fellow citizens.

But as an authority on the history of St. Louis and Missouri, and in fact of the whole Mississippi Valley, Judge Douglas was known far beyond the State's borders.

He was in demand for addresses before historical Societies; he was called upon for information and advice by historical researchers; he was consulted on historical questions in dispute, and he responded always cheerfully and with conscientious devotion to accuracy.

A native of Missouri Judge Douglas completed his professional education in Massachusetts, where enthusiasm for local history abounds. Coming back to Missouri and entering on his profession Judge Douglas soon found his chief mental recreation in historical research. It was truly a fortunate day for the Mis-

souri Historical Society when he became active in the organization. That he did not survive to complete historical writings upon which he was engaged, and to give to the public more of his wealth of historical information may well be lamented by all Missourians.

Robert Bailey.

EDWARD BATES AND THE TEST OATH.

By Frederick W. Lehmann.

In the third number of volume four of the Collections of the Missouri Historical Society, Mr. Thomas K. Skinker gives an account of the removal of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Missouri under the Ousting Ordinance enacted by the Constitutional Convention of 1865. In the course of it, to show the spirit of faction prevalent at the time, he quotes freely from the contemporary files of the Missouri Democrat. In an editorial of June 14th 1865 it is said:

"At the last election great numbers of the rebels committed perjury by taking an oath that they had always been loyal men. Many of them would never have thought of doing so *if Edward Bates had not taught them the lesson of false swearing.*"

In another editorial it is said:

"No man in the State took so active a part in opposing the new constitution as Edward Bates, who although out of office, is still looked up to as a leader second only to General Blair, by the Conservative Unionists or Claybanks as they are called. Fearing lest the rebels would be deterred from voting by the oath prescribed by the late state constitution, requiring every voter to swear that he had always been loyal to the Government, *Judge Bates wrote and published an opinion, advising them to vote notwithstanding they had to take the oath, and thereby swear to what was false upon the ground that the convention had no legal power to require the oath.*"

These editorials make the explicit charge that Edward Bates advised men to take an oath which

was false, that is, swear that they had always been loyal to the Government of the United States, when in fact they had been in arms against it, justifying such a course on the ground that the requirement of the oath was illegal.

Mr. Skinker simply quotes the editorials making this charge, without either avouching or challenging their truth, and they may leave in the minds of some of his readers the impression that the charge was true.

Edward Bates had come to Missouri as a young man and had lived here for fifty years. He had proved himself to be a lawyer of extensive learning and marked ability. He was a man of unspotted integrity, trusted implicitly in every relation of life. In a time of great men and great problems he was an eminent public character. He had held various public offices, had represented the State in Congress and by it had been presented for nomination to the Presidency at the Convention which nominated Abraham Lincoln. Upon the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln as President, he was called to the position of Attorney General in the Cabinet, and held it almost to the end of that trying administration, enjoying throughout and in full measure the confidence and esteem of his Chief, resigning at last under the pressure of years, but not until as he himself said "the affairs of the Nation were greatly altered for the better. My political chief had just passed through the ordeal of a new election, and the administration in which I bore a part was then sanctioned by the Nation. The success of our arms had turned a hope into a certainty, that the rebellion would be quelled; that the war would be brought to an end; and that, with wisdom and virtue in the civil Government, law and order might be once more firmly established." He had resigned in the hope to enjoy during his few remaining years, in privacy and peace, the society

of his family and friends, but the troubled condition of public affairs in the State, disappointed his hope, and he was called almost at once into the tumult of local politics, and became with General Francis P. Blair a leader of the Conservative forces and like Blair was to be found always in the thickest of the fight. It is due to his memory that no aspersion like that involved in the charge of the editorials quoted, if without warrant, be permitted to rest upon his name.

The charge is predicated by the Missouri Democrat upon an answer by Mr. Bates to a letter written to him by Dr. M. L. Linton, both of which appeared in the Missouri Republican of May 31st 1865 and both of which will be presented further on.

It will help to an understanding of those letters to consider the circumstances in which they were written, and the contentions to which they relate.

As is well known, the people of Missouri were sharply divided on the issues of the civil war, practically one half being for the Union and the other half for the Southern Confederacy. The State administration was for the Confederacy and adopted measures, as the Union men believed, for taking the State out of the Union. This was prevented by the energetic action of General Lyon and Grancis P. Blair, among other things the capture of the State militia at Camp Jackson. The Governor and his Legislature, disappointed in their purpose, fled the State, and the functions of government were assumed by a Convention which was already in existence. The Governor, Lieutenant Governor and members of the General Assembly were all ousted from their office and a Provisional Government instituted with Hamilton Gamble at the head. This involved hostility and armed hostility to the Jackson government which had been duly elected and was the legal government of the State until ousted by action of the Convention. The

provisional government continued until succeeded by an administration elected in 1864.

A new convention was called, and met in 1865, for the purpose of submitting amendments to the Constitution of the State. Its membership was radical in the extreme. It framed, not a series of amendments, but an entirely new constitution, to be voted upon June 6th 1865. Among other obnoxious features, this constitution prescribed what was known as the test oath as a qualification of voting, holding office, or pursuing the profession of the Law or of the ministry or the vocation of teaching. This oath was very comprehensive and drastic. It recited that the person who took it had never been in armed hostility to the Government of the United States or of the State of Missouri, and that he had never given aid or comfort to persons engaged in such hostility, and had never by act or word manifested sympathy with those in rebellion against the United States. There was much more not necessary here to be considered.

The convention assumed that it had plenary political power, and so besides framing a Constitution which was to be voted upon by the people and which would derive its vitality from the popular ratification, it adopted a number of ordinances which it held to be valid and self-enforcing without being referred to the people. One of these was the ousting ordinance which removed from office every judge, every clerk of court, every circuit attorney and assistant attorney, every sheriff and every recorder in the State, and empowered the Governor to fill all vacancies thus created. This gave the Radicals control of all the State machinery. And more than this the Convention ordained that at the election called for the ratification or rejection of the Constitution only those citizens should be permitted to vote who could take and did take the test oath, putting this vital feature of the Constitution into effect without a popular vote.

The ex-Confederates were of course all opposed to the action of the Convention, but they had no vote. Among the Unionists however, there was not harmony and had not been from the beginning. The provisional government had never been satisfactory to the extremists, and so throughout the war there was dissension among the Union men and a division into two hostile camps, the Radicals and Conservatives, or Charcoals and Claybanks. The Gamble government was Conservative, but the Fletcher administration which succeeded it was Radical. To the Gamble dynasty the Radicals made bitter opposition so long as it was in power.

The action of the Convention, the ordinances which it had enacted, and the Constitution it had submitted for approval, and particularly the test oath were from day to day the subjects of acrimonious discussion in the newspapers and wherever men met together. In the newspaper controversy Mr. Bates took a very large part. Like many other of the staunchest Union men of the State, civilians and soldiers, General Francis P. Blair, Colonel T. T. Gantt and Mr. Samuel T. Clover he was a Conservative. They believed that the war being over, everything possible should be done to heal the wounds it had made and not every day tear them open and make them bleed afresh. He wrote many editorials, and in addition a series of six elaborate articles to show that the proceedings of the Convention were in sheer usurpation of powers never granted to it and that its acts, particularly the ousting ordinance and the test oath, were null and void.

The center of the fight everywhere was the test oath. Some of the Conservatives thought that here the engineer had been hoisted by his own petard. It had placed armed hostility to the State government upon the same plane with armed hostility to the government of the United States. This, they said,

would put the stamp of treason on Lyon and Blair, and all who supported them in their measures against Governor Jackson and would disqualify a large body of Union men, both Radical and Conservative. More than this, Mr. Bates said, if the oath was to be literally construed, the Radicals would be disqualified by their opposition to and intrigues against the Gamble government. General Blair took a somewhat quixotic view of the oath. A brave soldier and a gallant gentleman, he was a man of broad sympathies and strong personal affections. Separating himself from those who had been his intimate associates, he espoused the cause of the Union with ardor from the beginning, and with sleepless vigilance, tireless energy and a courage that no danger could daunt, he was the chief support of Lyon in the fight to save the State to the Union. Later he served in Congress and engaging in the war he proved himself as Major General to be one of the best volunteer officers in the Union army. But he felt sure he could not take the oath. He had never been in arms against the Government of the United States, but friends and kinsmen had been and he had sympathized with them, not indeed in their hostility to the Government, but with them personally, in their hardships and privations, and as they suffered from the war. His loyalty was attested by his deeds, but the prescribed oath he would not take. He offered an oath in modified form, but it would not do, and his vote was rejected, and this action was sustained by the judges of the Supreme Court put in place under the ousting ordinance.

Whatever views the Conservatives held as to the construction or meaning of the oath, they all agreed that it was illegal, that the Convention had no right to impose it. What was the practical consequence of this illegality? What should be done at the election on June 6th when the Constitution was to be voted upon? Here a great divergence of views was de-

veloped. One extreme was that anybody could take the oath. That the Confederate soldier, or rebel, as the term then was, could properly swear that he never had been in rebellion, because the Convention had no right to make him swear at all. There was no valid oath and so there could be no perjury. This accorded with the lines of Hudibras,

> "He that imposes an oath makes it,
> Not he that for convenience takes it;
> Then how can any man be said
> To break an oath he never made."

The other extreme was that nobody could properly take the oath, no matter how loyal he had been to the Union or how great his service in its behalf, for to take the oath, was to acknowledge its validity and give sanction to all the proceedings of the Convention. This view, acted upon, would abandon the field altogether to the Radicals.

Mr. Bates being appealed to, took the middle ground between these two extremes, as the correspondence with Dr. Linton will show:

LINTON TO BATES.

"St. Louis, May 27, 1865.

Hon. Edward Bates:

Dear Sir:

My high estimation of you as a jurist and as a man induced me to address you on a subject of much interest to Missouri just now.

I allude to the test oath proposed by the late Convention.

Having been a member of that Convention, and consequently knowing something in regard to the feelings and intentions of my colleagues, I will briefly give my own version or construction of this strange oath. But not being a lawyer or student of the science of government I may overlook important points which would not escape your notice. Hence I appeal to you as authority in such matters.

According to my reading the oath proposed by the Convention disfranchises the entire population of Missouri, for it says "no person shall be deemed a qualified voter who has ever been in armed hostility to the United States or to the lawful authorities thereof or to the government of this State or has ever given aid, comfort, countenance or support to persons in such hostility."

All the loyal men in Missouri took up arms against the government of this state in the Spring of 1861 or aided or abetted those who did; all such are disfranchised by the oath. The disloyal took the other side—of course they are disfranchised also. Such is the very plain, literal reading of the oath.

I am sure, however, the intention or spirit of the oath is entirely different.

Literally taken this oath is contrary to the Constitution of the United States, which guarantees to every State a republican form of government, for there cannot be such government without voters. Literally taken it is also a transgression of the limit or the power of the Convention. This Convention was empowered to disfranchise the disloyal, not the loyal. So that literally taken the oath is unconstitutional, null and void. Such was not the intention of the framers of this oath. They intended only to disfranchise the disloyal.

Every member of the Convention will swear today that it was not his intention to disfranchise those who took up arms against the government of this State in the beginning; no such thing was meant. But does not the oath disfranchise all who have ever done any "act" against the government of the United States? Literally it does, but not according to the spirit or intention of its framers.

They adopted the strange oath on the hypothesis that there is no such thing as repentance for treason. "Once a traitor always a traitor," was their creed and hence they made the fact of any "act" done in the past evidence of disloyalty now. If they could have looked into the hearts of men and seen that they had repented and were loyal I doubt not that such men would have been permitted to vote. So my own conclusion is that according to the intention, the spirit

of this oath, all men who are loyal now can vote, though according to the literal reading, it disfranchises the loyal as well as the disloyal. Such is my construction of the oath. I might add more, but my object in writing to you is rather to learn your views than to set forth my own.

An early answer is respectfully requested.

Your obedient servant,

M. L. LINTON."

BATES TO LINTON.

"St. Louis, Monday Morning May 29, 1865.

To Dr. M. L. Linton, St. Louis.

Sir:

I avail myself of the first spare moment to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27th inst. asking for my views on the subject of the "test oath proposed by the late Convention." The keen, terse, logic with which your letter handles the subject demonstrates that you stand in no need of aid from me either to confirm your own judgment or to convince others.

Still, in courtesy I must answer you. I have received many letters from various sections of the State asking my opinion about that fraudulent oath. I had no sufficient time or leisure to answer them all but I did answer one. A gentleman in one of the middle Counties desired my opinion upon the question whether the voters in the coming election in June will be required to take the oath set forth in the new and unfinished Constitution of the Convention, and I gave him this answer: "If you mean to say, are the voters required by law to take that oath before voting, I answer emphatically, no; the refusal to take that oath is no legal disqualification. But if you mean to ask whether or no I think the oath will be required by Radical Judges of election and the legally qualified voters who refuse to take it be thus defrauded of their right of suffrage I can only answer yes! I do believe that that unlawful oath will be required, and any other false pretense resorted to which may promise to exclude the greatest number of qualified voters

from their right to pronounce against that odious Constitution and its makers." In that same answer I gave the writer of the letter and neighbors (in whose behalf he wrote) a piece of prudential advice in these words: "Be sure to have a committee of several of the most respectable and solid men of your precinct to attend the election and keep an exact written statement of every material fact which happens there, noting especially the name and place of abode of every voter who is excluded for refusing to take the unlawful oath. Don't be intimidated by truculent looks and threats of violence. We have a pretty good act of Congress now reaching the subject and the United States Circuit Court is an independent tribunal—and best of all, the reign of the law is about to be restored."

And still I adhere to that view.

I understand that some of the prominent supporters of the new Constitution affect a sort of indignant surprise at hearing it said upon our side that the language of the oath as it is written excludes from the right of suffrage all men who resisted the government of the State while it was under the control of the official traitors Governor Jackson and his legislature. The letter of their law is against them as plain as daylight; for Jackson was Governor of Missouri legally constituted until deposed by the Convention of 1861. But let them have their own way in that and still they have no possible escape from their own condemnation. After Jackson was deposed by the Convention and expelled by force of arms we still had the government of this State known and recognized in the capitols of both the State and the Nation and manifest in the person of Governor Gamble and "the Gamble dynasty." And that is the government of the State which they openly and notoriously resisted. They resisted it by using their utmost efforts to have it put down by military power (I know them for I had to resist them at Washington City); and they gave aid and comfort to the open enemies of the State and nation by habitually denouncing all the members of the provisional government (our only State government then existing) as usurpers and traitors and allies of the public enemy.

These facts are still capable of judicial proof and if they still persist in forcing that odious oath upon the opponents of the new constitution and if they have the hardihood of conscience to take the oath themselves, let them be prepared to take the consequence, for they can expect no less than to be watched at the polls and prosecuted in the Courts.

Possibly they may be able to exclude the votes of such men as Lyon and Blair and McNeil and Phelps and their associates in arms against treason—the men who took Camp Jackson and beat the enemy at Boonville and Pea Ridge. Heretofore when backed by the terrors of martial law they beat us fearfully; but now a better day has dawned and we hope to be able to take care of our rights in any forum where the law of the land is the rule of action.

I remain,

Most respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

EDWARD BATES.

P. S. I see on reading the above that I have omitted to mention one of your suggestions; that is, should a man who believes the oath to be unlawful nevertheless take it if he can do it with a clear conscience rather than be robbed of his vote by a dishonest trick. I myself can take the oath without any consciousness of doing wrong myself or any sense of sin except the humiliation of yielding to an unlawful and unjust demand dishonestly made upon me. And I don't see why any man should be deterred from taking the oath who has never borne arms against the government and knows in his own heart that he bears true and faithful allegiance to the Nation and the State.

E. B.

Most of what is said in these letters has reference to the construction or meaning of the oath, the plight of the Radicals if the oath is literally construed, and suggests that the foundation be laid on election day for prosecutions under the Federal law, if Conservatives are excluded from voting.

The propriety of taking the oath in view of its illegality is dealt with only in the postscript which is devoted to it entirely. Mr. Bates puts the question: "Should a man who believes the oath to be unlawful nevertheless take it if he can do it with a clear conscience, rather than be robbed of his vote by a dishonest trick." He answers that he himself can take it without consciousness of wrongdoing or sense of sin, other than the humiliation of yielding to an unlawful demand dishonestly made upon him. Clearly so, for he had been loyal throughout the war and the confidential adviser and faithful supporter of the President from the beginning. It would be humiliating in view of all this to be required to attest his loyalty by an oath illegally imposed by men upon whom he looked as the enemies of public law and order. But rather than lose his vote he would suffer this humiliation. So much for himself. Now as to others. "I don't see why any man should be deterred from taking the oath *who has never borne arms against the Government and knows in his own heart that he bears true and faithful allegiance to the Nation and the State.*

As plain as words can make it, this is advice to take the oath, despite its illegality, if it can be done truthfully, rather than lose the votes. It excludes the quixotic view of General Blair and also the view that nobody should take the oath as that would be to give it sanction and approval. And it is just as far from the other extreme that anybody could properly take the oath because it was illegal. The illegality of the imposition was a thing of humiliation, but in itself was neither a reason for refusing the oath nor a justification for taking it. The advice was sensible and honest, doing credit alike to the judgment and character of Edward Bates.

Happily those days are past and the test oath remains only as a thing of odious memory. It was

held to be invalid as a qualification for the vocation of teacher, lawyer or minister by the Supreme Court of the United States and was abrogated altogether by amendment of the State Constitution in 1870. Mr. Bates did not live to see all this accomplished as he died in 1869, but the promise of it was bright and its fulfillment well assured before he passed away.

SAMUEL HAMMOND.

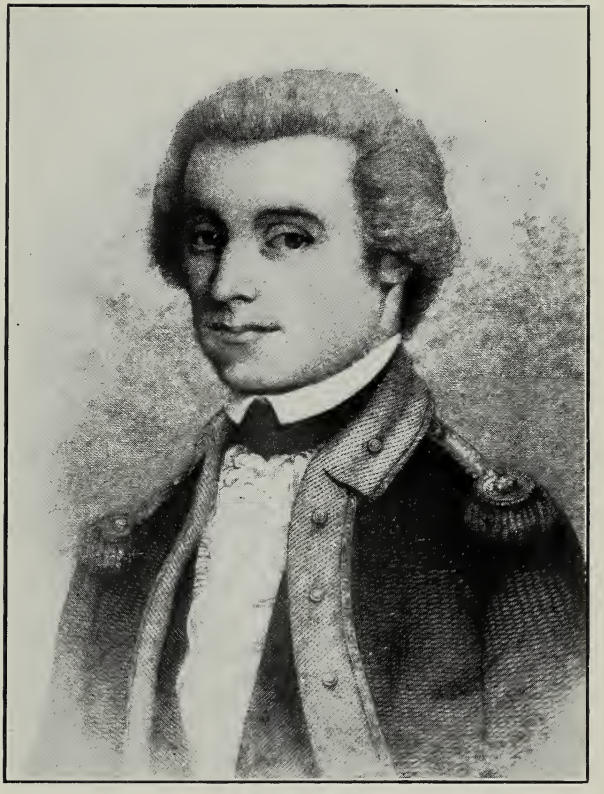
By Stella M. Drumm.

Of those characters connected with the early history of Louisiana Territory, Samuel Hammond was one of the most versatile and interesting. He came to St. Louis From Augusta, Georgia, near the close of the year 1804, as an agent of the great constructive President, Thomas Jefferson.[1] His earlier career and experiences as a soldier and statesman, bearing, as they doubtless did upon his appointment, will be interesting to note in this connection.

Samuel Hammond was one of the distinguished colonial family of that name, and was born in Farnham Parish, Richmond County, Virginia, on the 21st day of September, 1757. He was the son of Charles Hammond and Elizabeth Hammond Steele (his father and mother being second cousins), and a descendant of Sir Anthony Hammond of St. Albans' Court, County of Kent, England, who died in 1661. His father filled the office of Secretary to the Virginia House of Delegates for several years, and with his four sons took an active part in the War of the Revolution.

Reared in the romantic wilds of the Old Dominion, Samuel acquired early a love of valor, a daring and determination, which made him conspicuous even in childhood. When the days of peril and tribulation came to Virginia, and so many of her people fell victims to the Indian's tomahawk and scalping knife, Hammond went forth to battle with the savages. Though a mere lad of sixteen, he, together with his

[1] Letter from Thomas Jefferson to House of Representatives, *Amer. State Papers, Misc.*, 1:426.



Hammond

comrades in arms, penetrated the wilds that stretched beyond indefinitely, to hunt and beat down the enemies of his people. Taking part in many campaigns against the Indians, he became inured to hardships and dangers of every kind, and became familiar with forest life. The instinct of self-preservation thus quickened in him taught him to be ever on the alert, and to scan with close scrutiny every bush and rustling leaf.

At this time he was remarkable for his pale face, thin visage, high, broad forehead, and flashing eye, which latter characteristic impressed his personality upon the observer. Even then he had a self-reliant air which he retained throughout his life.[2] One of the expeditions in the Indian campaigns referred to was organized by Gov. Dunmore, and he took part in the desperate fighting at the mouth of the Great Kanawha river, October 10, 1774. He was with Col. Andrew Williamson in the struggle against the Cherokees in July, 1776, and, according to a writer, twice saved the Americans from disaster.[3]

At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War he raised a company of Minute Men, which he led at the battle of Great Bridge, near Norfolk, in December, 1776. In the earlier part of the war Hammond served with the Virginia troops in Pennsylvania and New Jersey under Col. Mathews, Gen. Maxwell and others. In 1778 he was aide to Gen. Hand, and in 1779, having removed with his father's family to Ninety-Six District, South Carolina, he took part there in the attack upon the British left under Gen. Huger.

By the time he had joined the campaign in South Carolina Hammond was a man in years. He stood then

[2] *Charleston Courier*, March 11, 1859.

[3] Roosevelt, in his *Winning of the West* (New York, 1903), says: "Col. Williamson tried to cross the ford of the River Keowee, but his men had become sulky and mutinous and refused to cross until Hammond swore he would go alone, and plunged into the river followed by three volunteers, whereupon the whole army crowded after. I: 298, 301.

six feet or more in height, was large, powerful, well formed, and possessed of iron nerves. With muscles of steel, a true eye and steady hand, he was a dead shot and matchless swordsman.

Young Hammond was in continuous and active service from the beginning of the war with England until the evacuation of Charleston in December, 1780. There he was a member of the "Council of Capitulation," but, refusing to abide the decision of the majority, he made his escape with a small party to North Carolina. He then raised a company of seventy-six men, equipped at his own expense, and determined to hold out until assistance should come, or die fighting. In a short time more than half of these men deserted him, hid out, and were afterwards captured by the British and sent to prison. Hammond, with the thirty-two remaining, avoided capture and escaped. He re-entered the army with the rank of major, and in this capacity commanded the left front of the line at the battle of Cowpens, June 17, 1781. Major Hammond was distinguished at the battle of Eutaw Springs, September 8, 1781, and has been recorded as one of the heroes of the battle of King's Mountain.[4] He was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of a cavalry regiment of State troops on September 17, 1781, and served under Gen. Greene until the end of the war.

The use of the superlative by writers of biography in describing public characters takes away a great deal of the realness of their lives. However, there are so many recorded circumstances showing the spectacular and unusual character of Hammond's military life that a history of him would be sadly deficient without reference to some of these exciting incidents.

In the manuscript collection of Dr. L. C. Draper, now owned by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, appear the following accounts:

"The Commandant of the British garrisons at

[4] Draper, *King's Mountain and its heroes.* (Cincinnati, 1881).

Augusta, Georgia, by the name of Browne, offered a premium to the party who should either kill or capture Samuel Hammond. This is a fact well authenticated. Browne declared that 'the audacity of the d—d roving rebel' (as he styled Hammond) 'had no parallel and was intolerable to himself and ruinous to the King's cause; that he was here, there, and everywhere; and when sought for and expected in one quarter, was cutting up Tories in another.' Commandant Browne declared that Hammond was literally cutting up and destroying the King's men, and if he was not soon killed or captured he would hang Charles Hammond, Samuel Hammond's father in his place. The father was at that time being held prisoner by Browne, and although seventy years of age was badly treated and ill-used by him. No doubt this threat would have been fully carried out had it not been for Mr. McLean, a wealthy and influential loyalist. Capt. Joshua Hammond, a relative of Col. Hammond, was also a prisoner at the same place.

"The fact is, Col. Hammond was just the man to dare anything for the liberation of his comrades or the freedom of his country. Everywhere, at all times, and under every circumstance, he was the same—bold, cool, reflective, in judgment sound, in perception quick and in action prompt."

An incident recounted in these manuscripts shows how nearly Commander Browne came to succeeding in his ambition to capture Hammond:

While Hammond was making a perilous tour for the purpose of looking into the state of things in the vicinity of Fort Galphin, with only one man, Mathew Dalton, as a guard, he had proceeded on his way ten or twelve miles without anything occurring to disturb the quiet and stillness of the ride. He had just reached a point where the road forked—one prong leading down the Savannah River, known as the "Cracker Neck" road, and the other known as "Hollow Creek"

or "Minor's Bridge" road, both penetrating the district of Barnwell in different directions. Here Hammond perceived a boy riding toward him on the River or Neck road, and halted until he should come up. He then asked the boy if he had seen or met any soldiers along the road. The lad replied that he had not, and further stated in reply to a question that he had traveled that road for about fifteen miles. The boy passed on, but Hammond was not convinced, knowing of Browne's purpose to capture him and the likelihood of the boy having been sent as a decoy. So he took the opposite prong of the road leading to Minor's Bridge. It was a useless precaution, because both roads were closely watched and guarded by some seventy or eighty men, each party well concealed in bushes and, impatiently waiting like vultures for their prey, now hastening toward the snare laid for him. A few miles further along he came to a small branch or streamlet crossing the road, along which the ground on either side fell abruptly. Into this he rode, turning his horse up the stream and near the bushes for deeper water, then leaning forward and throwing his reins on the horse's neck to allow him to drink more at ease, he lapsed into deep thought about the object of his journey, and ceased for a moment to scrutinize his surroundings. His momentary reverie was interupted by a slight noise and, looking up, he perceived the road, both in front and rear, filled with armed men waiting to destroy him. Completely hemming in the object of their constant pursuit, and now confident of winning the long-sought and coveted prize offered for his capture, they stopped in the road. But they had "reckoned without their host," for Hammond, cool in the midst of his peril, was as usual quick to the emergency. He shaped his course and acted upon it like a flash. Seizing his bridle with one hand and drawing his pistol with the other, he dashed up the hill. Those in front, surprised by the rapidity of the

movement, hastily fired all at once, and, being on more elevated ground than Hammond, over-shot him. Those in the rear, affected by the same surprise, shot too low and likewise missed the mark. Hammond's marksmanship proved better, for at the crack of his pistol down went one of His Majesty's subjects. Restoring the empty weapon to his holster, its fellow was quickly drawn and fired and another red-coat bit the dust. He then resorted to his saber and sent two others to join their comrades who had gone before. A gigantic fellow, with more courage than his companions, seized Hammond's horse by the reins. But his temerity cost him his life. Hammond at this moment raised himself in his stirrups for greater force and, waving his saber aloft, was enabled to deal him a crushing blow. He then spurred forward his horse and passed through the others unharmed. Dalton got through those in the rear, but not with such good fortune.

In the celebrated chase of Gen. Tarleton by Washington following the battle of Cowpens, Hammond accompanied him. Toward the close of the pursuit, Washington approached so near to Tarleton at one time as to raise himself in his stirrups and lean forward to strike him. Unfortunately his horse stumbled just at that moment and Washington was nearly thrown. The momentary pause resulting permitted Tarleton to escape him. Hammond continued the pursuit and pressed him so hard that he was compelled to leave his horse and take refuge in the swamps. The chase was over a distance of twenty-eight miles, and night and the swamps alone ended it.

Col. Hammond left among his papers various notes in his own hand-writing, which illustrated and described the battles and expeditions in which he was engaged. Some of these notes have been published in Joseph Johnson's *Traditions and Reminiscences*

Chiefly of the American Revolution in the South. (Charleston, 1851.)

After the war Col. Hammond resided in Savannah and was several times elected to the State legislature from Chatham County. He was made Surveyor General of the State, and also a State Commissioner, appointed to act in conjunction with other men of distinction in arranging treaties with the Indians.

His military operations were renewed in 1793 by an appointment from Gov. Telfair to command of the Chatham County Militia, which was being sent to the frontier. In this connection he rendered important service in checking the depredations of the lower Creek Indians. Returning to Savannah at the end of his term of service, he soon realized that his services in the field were needed by the State. Raising a volunteer troop he went back to the frontier.

In 1802 Col. Hammond was elected a representative from the State of Georgia in the Congress of the United States, defeating Joseph Bryan and William H. Crawford. But before his term of office expired he was asked to accept the appointment from President Jefferson to be Colonel Commandant for the District of Louisiana.[5]

Thus in the prime of his life, a veteran soldier and legislator, Hammond was called for constructive service in the West. There has been much confusion in accounts of this period in Hammond's career. In some measure it is probably due to the lack of access to records and letters. Hammond agreed, reluctantly, to accept the appointment in a letter of June 30, 1804, but the correspondence between him and the Secretary of War was much interrupted by long delays in the mail. Even after his acceptance, it was so long before any further word or instructions came to him that he was on the point of returning to his duties at Washington when stopped at the last moment by the receipt

[5] *Annals of Congress*, 1804-05: 1139.

of belated orders.[6] All this confusion resulted in a long delay in filling the post at St. Louis, and was the subject of an exchange of messages between Congress and the President.[7] The commission itself was sent by the War Department on November 2, 1804, to St. Louis, where Col. Hammond found it on his arrival.

The appointment of Col. Hammond was to the command of the District of St. Louis, and he thus became practically the first resident governor of that section under the authority of the United States. Major Stoddard, who was first appointed to receive Upper Louisiana from the French authorities, had remained for a time in charge, but without many discretionary powers. The latter was instructed to conduct the government and laws as they existed at the time he took hold, and had no definite attributes as a civil governor.[8]

The District of St. Louis was bounded by the Missouri River on the North, Platin Creek, from its mouth to its source, on the south, thence in a due line west to the fork of the River Merrimack, called Arencau, then up the said Merrimack to the upper settlements on that river, thence in a due west line to the western boundary of Louisiana.[9] This district was by far the most important in Upper Louisiana. It contained about 3,738 whites and 667 blacks, and comprised three good settlements—St. Louis, Carondelet and St. Ferdinand.[10]

The character of Col. Hammond's mission is better described by quoting from a letter from President Jefferson to Col. Richard Kennon.[11] In this communi-

[6] Letter of Samuel Hammond to Hon. H. Dearborn, *Amer. State Papers, Misc.*, I:426.

[7] *Annals of Congress*, 1804-05: 1033.

[8] Billon's *Annals of St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1888), II: 1.

[9] Proclamation, October 1, 1804, of William H. Harrison, Governor of Indiana Territory and the District of Louisiana.

[10] Letter from Maj. Amos Stoddard to Gov. Harrison. Mss. Collection Mo. Hist. Soc.

[11] Original letter. Mss. Mo. Hist. Soc., Bixby collection.

cation he offers the command of one of the other districts and uses the following language:

"The act of Congress establishing the government of Louisiana has placed that of its several Districts chiefly in a commandant, subject only to the superintendence of the Governor of Indiana at Vincennes. It is of great importance that these offices, five in number . . . should be filled with persons who may blend with great prudence the duties, civil and military, annexed to the office." . . .

The people of this district were not at all happy over the change from the French-Spanish government to the American, and it was particularly distasteful to them because they feared the new government would be out of harmony with all their traditions, customs and habits. With this fact in view, it is unnecessary to emphasize the point hinted at by Jefferson, that the man in such post, to be successful and influential with the people, must be highly intelligent and versatile.

Gen. Dearborn, Secretary of War, in his letter to Col. Hammond accompanying the commission,[12] directs him as follows:

"War Department,
Nov'r 2d, 1804.

"Samuel Hammond,

"Sir: Enclosed herewith you will receive your Commission as Colonel and Commandant in Louisiana. The District of St. Louis is assigned you. In the pursuance of your duties you will be governed principally by the obvious intent and meaning of the Law authorizing the President of the United States to make the appointment, a copy of which Law you will herewith receive.

"By this you will perceive that the Laws heretofore in force in that country are continued until altered by the new legislature. These it is believed gave considerable Civil as well as Military powers to

[12] War Department *Military Book* 2; pp. 267, 268.

the Commandants of Districts, which powers will of course devolve on you until altered by the legislature. Wherever a case arises to which the civil authority is competent, let your interference be in your civil character, using the aids and forms of the civil authority, and never those of the military, but in cases not otherwise to be affected—and wherever it is used—let it be marked in its proceedings by the utmost tenderness to the civil rights of Individuals and never aggravating by insult, harshness or passion, the acts of force which the case requires to be used. In these matters the present act of Congress, the existing laws of Louisiana, and the ordinances of the Governor and Judges will be your guide and warrant.

"An important part of your duty will relate to the prohibiting of unauthorized settlements on lands to which legal and valid titles have not been acquired. The settlements which are lawful are so exactly defined by the 14th Section of the enclosed act of Congress that no other direction is necessary from me than to exert your utmost vigilance in detecting unauthorized settlements the moment they are made or discovered, dealing with the persons as the Law requires and destroying any fixed improvements they may have made on the land. Besides the necessity of constant enquiries as to this object and having correspondents in all parts charged to give you necessary information, you may perhaps find it expedient at times to order patroles into those parts where intrusions are most to be expected.

"Your own good judgment and discretion will fully convince you of the propriety and necessity of conciliating the esteem and confidence of all classes of Citizens, of keeping up the most friendly intercourse between yourself and the Officers generally, especially those of the higher grades, and of the importance of strict discipline and subordination as well among the regular troops as the Militia.

"As complete an organization of the Militia as circumstances will admit ought to engage your early and particular attention, much will depend on a judicious selection of officers. Your opinion on this subject will undoubtedly have weight with the Governor, with whom you will communicate freely as well on this sub-

ject, as any other which may require consideration and on which you may entertain doubts as to what line of conduct would be most expedient. You will please to transmit to this office a regular return of the Militia under your Command as soon as an organization shall have taken place and also one to the Governor: and similar Returns in the month of October annually.

"I cannot at present be explicit on the subject of Arms for the Militia, it requiring a further and more correct knowledge of all circumstances than has yet been obtained concerning which I will thank you for such information as your situation will enable you to procure.

"I am, etc.,

H. Dearborn."

The wisdom and fitness of the appointment of Col. Hammond to this position is shown by the fact that he entered immediately into the life of the people of the community and adopted the new country as his own, in every respect. Possessed of a large fortune and a hospitable Virginia nature, he immediately built a large house,[13] where he entertained royally. With his polished manners, brilliant conversational powers, including his ability as a linguist, and the aid of his beautiful and accomplished wife, he soon won the hearts of the people, and his home became noted far and wide among the officials who were sent out to the new territory. In 1818 he purchased a residence on the west side of Third Street, between Elm and Myrtle Streets, which was ever afterward referred to as the "Hammond Mansion," and was numbered 72 South Third Street.[14] After he left it, this house was occupied by other persons prominent in St. Louis. He also had a large farm and summer home on the prairie near what is now the entrance to Forest Park; Lindell

[13] Scharf's History of St. Louis, 1:314; probably at Main and Spruce Streets.

[14] This house was afterward numbered 217 S. Third Street, and was standing at late as 1888.

Boulevard now extending through his old estate. On this land was a large spring called "Hammond's Spring," which was one of the three principal sources of water supply for Chouteau's Pond.

Col. Hammond entered into the business ventures of the community, probably to his disadvantage, but still in his characteristic attitude: "Thy people shall be my people." He was one of the organizers and first president of the St. Louis Bank; this, the first bank west of the Mississippi River, incorporated in 1813, was located at St. Louis. He was one of the founders of Christ Church,[15] the first Protestant Episcopal Church in St. Louis, and was for years on its vestry.[16]

Even after the system of territorial government was changed again (when the civil and military government was vested in one resident governor of the whole people of Upper Louisiana, acting in legislative matters with three judges), and after Gen. Wilkinson took charge as the first governor of the territory, on the 4th of July, 1805, Col. Hammond continued to be in authority.[17] It will be remembered that the territory had previously been under the nominal authority and government of the Chief Executive of Indiana Territory, next adjoining, in the person of William Henry Harrison.[18]

Considerable ill feeling soon developed between Gov.

[15] Christ Church was established Nov. 1, 1819. The original manuscript of the Articles of Association, as well as the first subscription list for the salary of the minister, etc., is in the rectory of Christ Church Cathedral.

[16] The first vestry was composed of Thos. F. Riddick and Wilson P. Hunt. Wardens: Samuel Hammond, Hy. von Phul, James Kennerly, James Clemens, Jr., Wm. Stokes, Joseph V. Garnier, A. Rutgers, and Frederick Dent.

[17] War Department *Military Book* 2; 373.

[18] On Mar. 3, 1805, an act was passed by Congress changing the name of the District of Louisiana to Louisiana Territory; the governor to be appointed for three years, the secretary for four years, and the legislative powers to be vested in the governor and three judges. This act went into effect July 4, 1805.

Wilkinson and Col. Hammond. In the light of certain official correspondence between them, which is still preserved, Wilkinson seems to have been petty and spiteful. His reply to a letter of Hammond's conveying the desire of certain citizens to have their military company incorporated into the militia, is stiff, impolite, contemptuous and full of arrogance. Whether or not the local popularity of Hammond and the desire of many prominent St. Louisans to have Hammond as Wilkinson's successor was the cause is a matter of conjecture. Suffice it to say that Wilkinson and his attorney general never missed an opportunity to abuse Hammond and his prominent St. Louis friends. An incident bearing upon their attitude is the prosecution, by the attorney general, of Samuel Hammond, Jr., a nephew of the Commandant. The younger Hammond killed an Indian, which act, according to the testimony at the inquest, was clearly justifiable and necessary to save the lives of Col. Return J. Meigs, Jr., and Antoine Saugrain. A report of this inquest was duly forwarded to President Jefferson by Col. Hammond:[19]

St. Louis, May 26, 1806.

"Territory of Louisiana,
District of Ste. Genevieve, } Sct.

"Inquisition taken at the town of Saint Louis in the District and in the Territory aforesaid, at the house of Hiacinth St. Cyr on the 23d day of May, A. D. 1806, upon a view of the body of Maichiwaigachee, an Indian of the Kickapoo tribe of Indians, then and there found dead, by the Oath of John Murphy, foreman, Calvin Adams, James Smith, James Rankin, Josiah McLannahan, James Huston, John C. Comegys, Francois Hortiz, Joseph LaCroix, William Massey, Hugh Patterson, Gabriel LaCroix, George Doggett, and Charles Gurrie, good and lawful men of the body of the said District, who being duly Summoned and Sworn well and faithfully, to enquire, when, where and in what manner the said Maichiwaigachee, came to his death, after having examined several Witnesses who were duly sworn, upon their Oaths say that at the Town of St. Louis aforesaid on the 23d day of May one Antoine Saugrain and Return J. Meigs, Jr., Esqr., being then and there in peace of God and of the United

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19 (*Jefferson Papers*, Ser. 2, vol. 42.)

States, said that Maichiwaigachee then and there did make an assault upon the said Col. Return J. Meigs Jr. and the said Antoine Saugrain, and without provocation did walk the Streets of Saint Louis brandishing his Tomahawk in a threatening manner and striking the same in one or more Doors and terrifying the citizens thereof and did then and there of his malice aforethought with the Tomahawk aforesaid strike and attempt to Kill the said Return J. Meigs, Jr., and that Samuel Hammond, Jr., then and there for the preservation and in defence of the life of the said Return J. Meigs Junior with a certain pocket pistol loaded with powder and ball, then and there a mortal wound gave to the said Indian by firing the same which entered at the left side of the back of the said Indian of the breadth of a quarter of an inch and lodging in the body of the said Indian then and there, while engaged with the said Return J. Meigs, Jr., and the hand in which he held the said Tomahawk being held by the said Meigs was in the act of drawing his Knife with his left hand which was about half drawn when he received the Shot aforesaid and the said Samuel Hammond, Jr. at the same time for the preservation and defence of the life of the said Return J. Meigs, Jr. did then and there with a certain Dirk of the length of———— [sic] Inches give to the said Indian the wound on the left side, the one under the left arm the other near the short ribs of the length of three-quarters of an inch, of which said mortal wounds the said Indian, on the same day and year, and at the place aforesaid immediately died, and so the Jurors aforesaid say, that the said Samuel Hammond Junior did then and there Kill the said Maichiwaigachee for the preservation and in the defence of the life of the said Return J. Meigs, Junior.

"John Murphy

Nathan Pusey, Coroner

P. Jh. LaCroix
Hh. Patterson
Gabriel LaCroix
J. Rankin
Jno. G. Comegys
Jo. Hortiz
James Smith
William Massey
Calvin Adams
Geo. Doggett
J. Huston
Josiah McLannahan

"St. Louis, 26th May 1806—I do hereby certify the foregoing to be a true Copy from the original as filed in my office.

"Copy—Nathan Pusey, Coroner.

"The foregoing is a True Copy of an Original inquest Compared and Examined by

S. Hammond Senr. J. P.
27 May 1806."

Col. Hammond wrote to President Jefferson, August 26, 1806, in regard to the reported slanders by Gov. Wilkinson. In this letter he says:

"I have just now been informed by a Gentleman whose veracity I have no right to question, that Gov. Wilkinson had written a letter to the executive of the U. S. some months since, calculated to injure my reputation or prejudice my character. It is a duty due to myself to ask for a copy of the communication, if such has been made—if there has not, it would afford me gratification, for it is always painful to me to have cause to suspect any gentleman of such malevolence and hypocracy as would be established if my information be correct. My judgment assures me that I have Conducted my self towards the Governor with every respect and attention due to his Station and that it is out of his power to Charge me Justly with the neglect of, or inattentions to any part of those duties which the laws under which I have acted required of me and his Official arrangements gave me the powers to perform. Unless indeed that Silence which I have observed upon the subject of the animosities and party disturbances which have been unfortunately produced and imprudently spread throughout this territory by those whose duty it was rather to heal and Reconcile them, be considered as a reprehensible neglect. * * *

"I have been informed that a paper has been circulating here having for its object the recommendation of myself for the Government of this territory. I take leave to assure you that it has not been set on foot with my privity, or countenanced in any way by my wish or would I have it understood as an application flowing from me, for altho I have felt it my duty to perform or attempt to perform such Services as have been required of me either by the people or their Constituted Authorities, I have never been found soliciting such employments."

In any controversy involving Wilkinson it should be borne in mind that he was a man selfish of power and eager for money. He had enemies from St. Louis to New Orleans, and while Jefferson never believed that he was involved in the conspiracy with Aaron Burr,

this disbelief was based upon his idea of Wilkinson's shrewdness rather than upon confidence in his honesty. Wilkinson received instructions from the War Department on June 11, 1806, to go with all dispatch to New Orleans and prepare for defense against the Burr conspirators. Instead he lingered at St. Louis until the following September. The question was taken up by the President's cabinet October 22, 1806, as to what should be done with him on account of his disobedience. At this meeting the general and widespread suspicion concerning his fidelity was discussed. The matter was postponed and the attention of the cabinet was probably diverted from the subject by Wilkinson's subsequent court-martial.

Congress having adjourned without authorizing the continuation of the commandants in the Territory of Louisiana, their appointments ceased on the 21st of April, 1806. Gen. Dearborn wrote on May 6th of that year so informing Col. Hammond. The several districts subsequently became counties, presided over by the elective officers, whose authority and dignity were in the shadow of the chief executive, and who lacked the power and authority of the commandants.

These changes did not end the public career of Col. Hammond, but, on the contrary, he was frequently called to positions of public trust. About July 1, 1811, he was appointed Judge of the Court of Common Pleas by Frederick Bates, then acting as Governor of the Territory.[20] He was a member of the first Territorial Council of eighteen persons, being one of the nine appointed by President Madison,[21] and was elected president of the Council at its first meeting, held July 5, 1813; was the first Receiver of Public Monies for the United States Land District, being appointed by President Monroe in 1818, which office he held until 1820.

[20] Common Pleas Record B, p. 118.

[21] Original proclamation of acting Governor Bates dated June 3, 1813. Mss. Missouri Historical Society, Dalton Collection.

He was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of the State of Missouri, held in 1820, to which he was elected to represent Jefferson County, having a plantation in that county at Herculaneum, [22] and in several elections held in the earlier days, to choose a delegate to Congress, Col. Hammond was prominently considered.

It was not until 1824 that Samuel Hammond gave up his residence in Missouri and went to South Carolina, the field of his early career: Not to rest, as his sixty-seven years of age would have seemed to justify, but to write his name in the political history of another State. He had served Georgia as a member of the State legislature and as her representative in Congress; Missouri from her infancy until her maturity, and now was to be Surveyor General of the State of South Carolina, and afterwards her Secretary of State.

After his return to the South he found it necessary to sell off a great deal of his property, in order to contribute toward the settlement of the debts of a bank with which he was connected. This bank had given notes to the United States Government in payment of public dues and, in its failure to meet them, involved its stockholders. He also found that his estate in South Carolina had been lost by sale for taxes, through the neglect of his agents. Fortunately, however, the property had fallen into the hands of an old friend and fellow soldier, Col. Brooks, of Edgefield, and he generously agreed to restore it to him.

[22] Herculaneum, a small village about 30 miles below St. Louis, was laid out, in 1808, by Samuel Hammond and Moses Austin and was subsequently made the county seat of Jefferson County. After the county seat was removed to Hillsboro in 1839, the town lost a great deal of its importance until the establishment of plants for the smelting of lead. When the Mississippi River & Bonne Terre R. R. was constructed a large smelting plant was built on the river at Herculaneum and great quantities of lead ore were brought from the mines to be smelted in this plant. It is still one of the important lead manufacturing towns in the State, and is supported almost entirely by the lead company. Its population in 1912 was 800.

His election to the office of Surveyor General of South Carolina was in 1827, and he was seventy-four years of age when chosen Secretary of State. His fellow soldier, Gen. Sumpter, in advocating his selection, spoke with approval of his gallantry and usefulness during the Revolutionary War, and stated that the victory of Blackstocks was due to his great bravery and conduct in that battle. While holding office, Col. Hammond resided at Charleston and Columbia, South Carolina, respectively. In 1835 he returned to "Varello," his country estate (at Beech Island, South Carolina, three miles from Augusta, Georgia, on the Savannah River), for a well-earned rest from the labors of a very long and active career. Here he died, on the 11th day of September, 1842, in his eighty-fifth year.

Col. Hammond was buried with civil, military and Masonic honors. The Militia of Hamburg, South Carolina, and the Augusta, Georgia, Riflemen and Artillery Guard, all under the command of Samuel G. Wilson, together with the Masonic lodges and citizens of both places, formed a procession at the corner of Covington and Market Streets. From the site of his old fort on Shultz' hill, which he had stormed in 1781, minute guns were fired by the artillery while the procession followed the body of the deceased veteran with the solemn sounds of the muffled drums. When they arrived at the family burial grounds, above Campbellton, the remains were lifted into the vault with Masonic honors, and a volley fired over it by the escorting infantry.

The meeting of Samuel Hammond and his first wife, Rebecca Rae, was attended with romantic incident, as might be expected of so romantic a personage as the Colonel. Shortly after the battle of Eutaw Springs a splendid pair of carriage horses were stolen from Mrs. Rebecca Rae, an interesting young widow. These horses were recaptured by Col. Hammond while on his

way to visit an uncle, Col. Leroy Hammond. When he arrived at the home of his uncle he was introduced to Mrs. Rae, who was a guest there. In the course of conversation Col. Hammond learned that Mrs. Rae was the owner of the horses. He said nothing, but the next day Mrs. Rae was agreeably surprised to receive her horses with a note from Col. Hammond, informing her that they had been taken from the Tories and were returned to her with the hope that she would not suffer any further molestation. She immediately dispatched her servant with the horses and a note of thanks, requesting his acceptance of the animals, saying that as she had learned that he had the misfortune to lose three horses at the battle of Blackstocks, she hoped these might be of service to him. This incident, trifling in itself, was the forerunner of an acquaintance which ripened from friendship into love, culminating in their marriage in 1783.

Rebecca Rae was the widow of Col. John Rae, and a sister of Samuel Elbert, Governor of Georgia; also a Revolutionary hero. Their home was at Rae's Hall, a few miles from Savannah on the Savannah River. A son was born of this union, at Rae's Hall in 1786, who was named Samuel Elbert; also a daughter, who died in infancy.

Samuel Elbert married Ellen Lark and left many descendants in Missouri and Arkansas, having made his home in the latter State. Their children married into some of the most prominent families in Missouri.

Rebecca Rae Hammond, the first wife, died in the spring of 1798, and on the 25th day of May, 1802, Col. Hammond was married to Eliza Amelia O'Keefe, who was famous for her beauty and wealth. All of his children by the second marriage were born in Missouri at Bellvale, his country estate near Forest Park, and were:

Charles Lincoln, born November 19, 1806, who was married in 1830 to Sarah Reynolds, and moved to a

plantation in Alabama, where he and his wife were massacred by the Indians in May, 1836;

Margaret Eleanor, born March 9, 1809, who married Samuel Kingman. The eldest son of this marriage was assigned to the consular service of this country in Italy, and died in service. One daughter, Mrs. Julia McKee, now lives in Augusta, Georgia;

Abner Lewis, born September 18, 1813, who married Katherine Barsh. He became a distinguished surgeon in the Army of the Confederate States of America and lost three sons in the service of the Confederacy;

John O'Keefe, born April 23, 1822, who married Susan Richardson. Their only son, Charles Lincoln, was killed while serving the Confederate States in the Army of Northern Virginia.

Mary Ann Magdalene, born May 12, 1816, who married her second cousin, James H. R. Washington. The latter was a son of Robert Washington and a descendant of Lawrence Washington, the emigrant. Robert Washington married his cousin, Elizabeth Hammond, in Richmond County, Virginia, May 24, 1789. He afterwards moved to Georgia. James H. R. Washington and Mary A. Hammond had eight children, among whom were: Mrs. Ellen Washington Bellamy, James Washington and Hugh Vernon Washington.

Mrs. Ellen Washington Bellamy, a survivor of this distinguished Hammond-Washington family, is now living at Macon, Georgia, and is prominent in the councils of the National Daughters of the American Revolution. She attended the unveiling of the tablet placed in the Jefferson Memorial in honor of her grandfather, Samuel Hammond. This imposing work of bronze was the gift of the St. Louis Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, and now marks a spot almost on the very land owned and occupied by him.

Hugh Vernon Washington was born at the famous old Washington homestead in the city of Macon,

Georgia, on April 2, 1861, and died in the same house, October 5, 1911. He was educated at the University of Georgia and took his degree in law in 1882. While quite young he was made judge of the Recorder's Court at Macon. Mr. Washington was the representative of the state of Georgia at the Louisiana Purchase Centennial Exposition, by appointment from the governor of that state. His service in that capacity was spoken of with warm commendation by Gov. Terrell in his annual message to the General Assembly of the state. Mr. Washington was a gentleman of the old school, a lawyer of ability, culture and eloquence, and much interested in philanthropic and educational matters. He died unmarried.

Mary Ann Hammond Washington, daughter of Col. Hammond, and mother of Mrs. Bellamy and Hugh V. Washington, was the first "real daughter" of the Revolution. She was a notable woman and lived to be eighty-five years of age. A marble bust of her has been placed in Continental Hall, Washington, D. C., by the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Col. Hammond brought with him to St. Louis his nephew, George Hammond. The latter subsequently became deputy sheriff of St. Louis and was stabbed to death in front of the court house in 1836, while conveying a desperate mulatto to the jail.[23] A daughter of George Hammond, Eliza Ann, was married in St. Louis, March 3, 1836, to Theodore Labeaume, a son of Louis Tarteron de Lebeaume (an *emigre*, who came to St. Louis from France during the Revolution) and his wife Suzanne Dubreuil. Descendants of Theodore Labeaume and Eliza Hammond are now among the leading citizens of St. Louis.

[23] See an account of Hammond's murder, in Darby, *Personal Recollections* (St. Louis, 1880), p. 237. The people were so greatly incensed at the murderer that they immediately burned him on a vacant lot at Seventh and Chestnut Streets, about where the Title Guaranty building now stands.

RECOLLECTIONS OF AN OLD ACTOR.

By Charles A. Krone.

(Read at a Meeting of the Society March 17 1906. Continued from Vol. IV., No. 3.)

John McCullough, then a young man, played "Icilius" worthy of his great master. I was the "Appius Claudius on this occasion, and had ample opportunity to witness the scenes between Virginius, Icilius and Dentatus, scenes in which the tenderest emotions of the father and friend were called into action, and which convinced me that the imputation he had fallen under of being a ranter was owing to his lame imitators. His voice was melodious and sonorous, and would rise from the faintest whisper and lament through all the gradations to the highest thunders of passion and spread like the reverberations of a cathedral organ, clearly, distinctly and without effort, to every part of the house.

After the curtain had dropped on the last act, he suddenly came over to where I was lying in the same position as when strangled by him. and he gruffly asked: "Who the devil ever taught you to die like that?" I was somewhat startled and inquired if it wasn't all right. "Right," he replied, "Of course it is. By Jove, you're the only man I've had to die right these four years, for no sooner have I killed them, but they stretch out as stiff as a poker. You've done it like a man that has been strangled. He then proceeded to give me an explanation of the contraction of the limbs in such cases, the obstruction of the flow of blood, etc., which, luckily was interrupted by the tremendous applause that called him before the curtain.

Although all his renditions were as masterly, his highest flight was reached in "King Lear," which he played to a fair house, and the attendance gradually began to fall off, so that his brilliant representations of "Richelieu," "Jack Crade," and the "Gladiator," this excellent lesson on the decadence of the Roman Empire failed to draw the desired attendance. His time was departing with the popular enthusiasm for classic plays. Besides, one of the leading journals daily criticised him and spoke of his support as not being efficient, and he closed the engagement with but little, if any, financial success, to make way for John Thompson, Jos. Murphy and other performers, who had adopted the dramatic stage and were reaping a plenteous harvest.

The life of Edwin Forrest with its scandalous divorce case, and the Astor House riot during Macready's engagement in 1849, had, no doubt soured his temper and embittered lis life. In this riot, which was the result of a rivalry between the English and the American tragedian, a score of men were killed and many wounded, and it was said that Forrest had injudiciously provoked it. However, that might be, his passionate temper and his rude, profane, and often coarse manner, were well calculated to give rise to such opinion. Notwithstanding this, he was also known to be manly and just, and without a tinge of superciliousness or of falseness in his nature. With his colleagues, though rough, he was frank and straightforward, demanding of them the same devotion and accuracy in their work that he himself exhibited. When he saw this was earnestly attempted he was bearable, but carelessness and frivolity found no mercy from his bitter and mocking remarks. "Can't you do it as I do?" he is known to have said to a youngster whom he was vainly trying to teach a small part. "No, Mr. Forrest, I can't," was the reply; "for, if I could, I would not be working for

$5.00 a week." "If that's all you're getting, do it as you d—d please." Though vain himself and proud of his vocation, he never objected, but rather desired that others should likewise be so as long as they attended to the work before them. On one occasion I heard him say to a member of the company, "Never mind those in front, you play your part correctly, and if you don't know how better than those in the galleries, I'd advise you to go home and learn to make shoes." His world reached as far as the footlights, and beyond these he disdained all efforts to gain applause or favor. While witnessing a grand production of Richelieu at Booth's Theatre in New York, a large crowd of magnificently dressed ladies and courtiers were promenading among the gorgeous flowers and fountains in the Versailles garden scene, and, that too while the affecting dialogue between Richelieu and King Louis was going on, some gentleman sitting near him asked him how he would like to play Richelieu in that style and he answered, "not before that scenery by God." There is no doubt that Booth, who played Richelieu, thought likewise, but the time had arrived in which he was either not to act at all or make some concessions to the speculators who starred him and to the public who demanded this display. Edwin Forrest was born in Philadelphia in 1806. This advent falls in a period when this country was yet in its incipiency. The radical sentiments of individual liberty that had been born of the blood of patriots was intensified by the hatred of every thing that pertained to monarchic institutions, and of this hate the English bore the lion's share. John Barrett, our comedian, on his arrival from England, while sitting in Battery Park a few moments had half of his coat tail cut off by some rowdies, and when he shed tears on account of the brutal treatment, they laughed and reminded him of the battle of Bunker Hill. The Germans, or Dutch as they were then

called, were looked upon as inferiors and as the slaves of despots, whereas the Irish fared somewhat better on account of their hatred to England and the French were respected for their aid during the Revolution. This was the popular feeling, and among these conditions Forrest was reared, and that too, in Philadelphia, the cradle of Liberty, where these sentiments were nurtured. The young nation in its robust health and strength felt that its power was adequate for any talk or danger, and a sincere faith in the eternal duration of the institutions under which it lived. Rude and boastful, proud and impatient of contradiction, yet enterprising and manly in the fulfillment of the simple duties which clearly lay before them, the people in general were considered coarse and rude by their more polished European critics, while the average American held in contempt the unnecessary ceremonials and fopperies of European society. The word "master" in this country had been changed to employer, and "servant" to that of "help," and decorations and liveries save on a soldier were looked upon as abominations. Such was the spirit and the conditions in which Forrest was born and grew into manhood, and this considered we have a clew that will lead us to understand the deplorable affair of the Macready contention and the Astor Place riot; and the populace of that day who were as fiercly anti-English as Forrest himself. His favorite expression when excited, was "God bless my American heart, if so, and so," and uttered with a force as if he had been born of the Pilgrim Fathers instead of Rebecca Lauman, his German mother and John Forrest, his Scotch father. In short this pride, sturdiness, and sense of unshackled freedom that based itself upon simple and right feeling, and the faith to realize it, were his in a high degree, and as far as an artist can embody and represent the spirit of his time and people in his work, Edwin Forrest accomplished this in his acting, and

even up to this day stands as one of the greatest personalities in art and genius that this country has produced. Another American, a woman, Charlotte Cushman, who in the tragic art soared into the highest flights in what was greatest in a race's literature, deserves a place on the same pedestal with Forrest in the temple of fame.

The encouragement, also, which Forrest gave to authors for the creation of plays conceived in the spirit of American ideals gave us such works as "Metamora" and "The Gladiator," which, in his time were considered high psalms of liberty. Taken all in all, he was the most specific great American actor that ever lived. His entire manner differed from that of the English actors who visited us or those of their American imitators. His mannerisms, of which he had not a few, were also original and distinctly his own, such as the biting of his nether lip, the nervous twitching of his fingers, the violent heaving of his bulky chest which proclaimed the struggle of the emotion his spirit strove to master. The peculiar manner in which he would sacrifice the customary accentuation of words to give effect often were criticised. As a specimen the following will suffice; In the play of Richelieu when the Count De Baradas recounts his services to the king in a boastful manner and makes use of the word "we" instead of "I" he is suddenly interrupted by Richelieu, Forrest would say it thus:— "W-e-e-e! You hear him sire, We-e-e-! What pa-a-a-ge, man, in the last court gram-a-a-r made you a plur-a-a-l!" In Metamura after the trial scene he went to De Bar and complained that there wasn't a man in his company that could pronounce Phil-i-pp!

The last and best representative of this renowned American actor was John McCullogh his pupil and support for some years, who after Forrest's departure starred in the same roles and followed in his master's

footsteps. He was one of the last of that younger generation who began their career when the ideals of earlier days had begun to fade from the popular mind, and who was the only one who in his province attained to any signal success as a tragedian. A story was current that in his former days he had worked as a stoker in a gas house, where, by the light of the furnace he tended he had taught himself to read. Whether this story be true or not I can not say.

Sixteen years after this engagement with Forrest in 1866, when he had arrived at fame and excellence we met again in Providence R. I. He had heard that I was in town with a company and sent one of his actors with an invitation for me to see him, stating that he was ill or he would have called upon me. On the night of his departure I went in a coach with some of his actors to the train and found him standing on the platform. He looked worn and pale, but spoke with cheerfulness and great warmth of former days, and the engagement of '66 in St. Louis, of which he remembered all the particulars. On the signal of departure we shook hands and I never saw him again. No man was ever held in greater esteem by his company, and his tragic fate which bereft him of his reason and ended with his death was mourned by all who knew him.

Belle Boyd, the Rebel Spy, a very handsome lady who had served as a spy in the Confederate army, appeared for one week. She brought a horse with her and a play full of thrilling adventures of the Civil War. Her beauty and her equestrian feats drew large attendances.

On the 26th. of May the joint benefit of George Jones the treasurer and Joel W. Turner, the master machinist took place. On this occasion Ben DeBar appeared as Tom Tape in the "Stage Struck Tailor," and the following in an olio of song, dance and farce! —Miss Kate Taylor, La Petite Sylvia, R. S. Vandib,

and Frank Martin. Wm. Vandib, a young comedian who had been in George Chaplin's Stock Co. at Leavenworth appeared as Handy Andy in the play of that name. A. B. Pearson, who is well remembered by old citizens for his talent as a reciter and player of tragic parts delivered a recitation. These gentlemen, at that time were members of an amateur association which was composed of the sons of our earliest citizens. The roster was as follows:— A. B. Pearson, H. Bloomfield, J. Nagle, J. O'Hearne, Chas. Bohanan, R. Morris, J. McNamara, W. Blakely, A. J. Rose, W. Latour, Mat. Hastings, W. Gillespie, X. Murray, S. Smith and J. Mumy. Of these the following are still living:—Dr. Chas. Bohanan, J. O'Hearne, R. Morris, W. Blakely, Wm. Latour, J. McNamara and Mat Hastings. This society had a theatre of its own in what had once been the old Boatman's Church on the south side of Lucas Avenue which then was called Green St., between 3rd. and 4th. Pearson performed the leading parts, and Mat Hastings painted the scenery until his departure for Europe where he studied two years in the Art Academies of Dusseldorf and Paris, after which he returned to St. Louis a skillful artist in portrait and landscape painting. Many of his excellent works depicting historical scenes of our Western life and the portraits of numerous citizens are well known. He is still industrious at his easel,[1] and I think he is the last of the many clever St. Louis artists of former days, such as Meeker, Hinchey, Reed, Hillieker Sr. Chase and Becker. We often meet, and on one accasion, after a play I was engaged in at the Suburban Garden, we promenaded together through the crowd of people without meeting a soul that we knew. He remarked how different things were from those of our younger days, when almost at every turn

[1] Since this article was written, Mat Hastings died in St. Louis on January 23rd, 1919.

we would have been hailed by some acquaintance. I reminded him that of that period we two were the "last of the Mohicans," in our separate crafts and that the world was constantly growing young as well as old. On Feb. 19, 1868, Edwin Forrest appeared with us once more and for the last time in this city. He was now an old man of sixty two. He had aged much during the past two years, and though helpless at times with suffering from the gout, his mind still retained its wonted vigor, and his stubborn will, and irascible temper were more pronounced than ever. But, alas, his body tottered, and the once firm and majestic step was changed into a painful limp that provoked laughter. In the fight in the arena scene of the "Gladiator" it was a sad sight to see him dragging his right leg along to reach his antagonist, and with sword and shield giving and taking blows, each of which must have pierced the very marrow of his bones with pain, and reminded one of the lines in the play that speak of "killing men to make sport for a Roman holiday." Though there was no more than a half attendance, his acting was great as heretofore, and like the gladiator he represented, he determined to fight to the end.

His King Lear was enthusiastically received by but a fair audience which irritated him, for though he was a prudent business man, he was no money worshipper, and in later years cared little for the financial side of his affairs. In 1854, when Manager Wood of the People's Theatre offered him the $600 agreed upon, after an unprofitable weeks engagement, he shoved it back to him saying, "I don't want your money, George, but it annoys me that so few have come to see me." His last engagements in St. Louis were unprofitable and discouraging.

It was during the war that matinees were instituted, and at its close the system of farming out the company to theatres in other cities while opera troupes

and combinations were playing here was resorted to. While one of these itinerant shows was here for a week, instead of resting as usual we were sent with Forrest to Quincy, Illinois. He was very ill during the trip. After laying over the night at a country town to catch the train on the following day, he arose in the morning, and supported by his agent and dresser limped towards the hotel to breakfast. A crowd of countrymen that had heard of his arrival had assembled on the platform and craned their necks to get a look at him, upon which, with a majestic wave of his hand he shouted "Stand back you foolish blockheads, what are you staring at?" The crowd shrunk back, and he moved on and growled until he reached the hotel.

In Quincy, the business proved worse than in St. Louis, and so was his temper. Upon the request of the Mayor to see him, he replied, "What do I want to see him for? Let him attend to his own business and leave me to mine." His dresser, a Philadelphia shoulder hitter, had made himself obnoxious to our property man, a slender Irish youth. One afternoon at the theatre, a fight took place up in the flies, between the property man and the tall Philadelphian who loudly shouted for help while the former was beating him unmercifully. I rushed to the spot and made him desist, but the dresser had been punished so severely that he came to the theatre that night with his head and face covered with raw beefsteak. Some insulting remark about St. Louis and its people had been the immediate cause of the trouble. Of course this added to the general ill feeling, and Forrest growled like an angry lion at everybody and everything. On the last night King Lear was produced. In the last act Lear is discovered asleep on a couch as the curtain rises to the plaintive tune of "Sweet angels sing me to rest." Forrest had lain on the couch for some time, and he enquired why they waited

so long for the curtain to rise. Wright, his stage manager answered that this would be done as soon as he had instructed the orchestra to play "Sweet angels sing me to my rest," upon which Forrest roared out, "Sweet angels sing me to the infernal regions and perdition, so we get out of this God forsaken village." He died on the 12th. of December, 1872, leaving his vast property for the benefit of aged and indigent actors. The Forrest Home stands as a monument to his greatness and his kindness of heart. He was found dead in his room, one half of his body, the head and broad chest resting on the floor, and the other part on the bed. What the last struggle may have been can never be known. His life was a tragedy and so was his death. The tall old elm tree that shadowed the window of his study with its branches, though it spoke to him will never reveal the mystery. His gardener had repeatedly begged him to have it cut down as it obstructed the view of the house. Tired of the man's eagerness to have it removed he replied "No by the gods, no! For at night when I sit here and study, the rustling of its leaves remind me of my immortal soul and whispers of the life to come."

Edwin Booth, after an absence of two years, dating from the assassination of the president, again appeared in St. Louis on the 18th. of November, 1867. He opened in Hamlet. It was said that he had studied the part during the period of his retirement in England. It was also rumored that he had drank vinegar during all this time to give himself the proper taint. This is hard to believe, for he had it from nature. This famous actor was one of the few in whom the best qualities of his contemporaries were harmoniously blended in a high degree. Unable to reach the sublime heights of Forrest, the titanic force of Barry Sullivan, the ideal conceptions of Murdock in either tragedy or comedy, the romantic glamor of James W. Wallack or the versatility of Edwin Davenport, he

succeeded in painting the historical and poetical spirit as well as the dramatic tone of his picture in a degree which none of the others attained. He was free, likewise, of all pronounced mannerisms, and could disindividualize and merge himself into the character he represented. In his Richelieu one never lost sight of the Frenchman and the priest, and in his Shylock the Jew was so evident that one was apt to imagine he spoke with a slight Hebrew accent. Such, at least, was my impression, though, on inquiry, I was told he spoke as pure English in this as in other parts, and that I was not the only one who shared in the deception. Hamlet was considered to be his master piece. Without the fire and emotional qualities of his father, his renditions were considered more even, smooth, cold and reflective, which addressed themselves to the intellect rather than the heart, and this, with his personal advantages of a melancholy cast of countenance, slight and graceful figure, and a clear and plaintive tone of voice, fitted him for the part of the melancholy Dane. On the second night he appeared as Romeo, which to my mind, was the finest I ever saw, which was the more strange, as his Claude Melnotte a similar lover was the worst that could be imagined. However, he played this part very seldom, and only at matinees. Richard III, a repetition of Hamlet, Othello, Catharine and Petruchio and the Merchant of Venice ended the engagement. The gross receipts for this week amounted to $7,689, of which no doubt he received the half. He was of a quiet and kindly disposition, but the kind that seemed rather to have been cultivated than natural. The tragic fate of his brother, the eccentricities and waywardness of his father, and the existence of a strain of crankism if not madness, of which he was well aware, weighed upon his soul, and had made him mistrust himself, and take every precaution to keep his mind calm and balanced. During the many engagements he played

with De Bar he was never seen to lose his temper save on one occasion. At a rehearsal of Richelieu after vainly attempting to get a certain situation of the piece according to his notion he burst out suddenly in such a furious manner as filled everybody with fear and astonishment, but seeing the effect he had produced he broke out into a loud and merry laugh and at once resumed his former quiet manner.

Robert Grierson, or "old Bob" as he was familiarly called, an excellent actor of old men, well known in this community for his staunch and manly character and his connection with the various theatres of St. Louis since the days of Ludlow and Smith, had played very often with Junius Brutus Booth, the father of Edwin, and knew him intimately. He said there never had been any doubt of the existence of a strain of monomania in the family. Among many eccentricities that he related of the elder Booth were such as reading the Koran at the theatre and praising it as containing the only true religion, and his selling Edwin to him on one occasion in Pittsburgh as he met him on the street with the boy, then a mere child. Grierson petted and praised the little fellow, upon which the father said "you can have him for five dollars." Grierson paid the money and took the child home to its mother, while the father went to a tavern to spend the purchase money in drink. But with all this he was considered a fair, honest, and kind hearted man, and one of considerable knowledge in ancient languages and literature. He was indifferent to money, and as my informant assured me, his salary amounted to $50. a night, and a half clear benefit towards the end of the week, which would give him six hundred dollars as his pay, and, that too, when he was at the height of his fame in this country. When relating this "Old Bob," would add "and that was enough! As an instructor or factor in culture, an actor may have an infinite price, but there never

lived a darned actor in this world who was worth more than $600. in money value." Every morning he would receive his $50 from the treasurer at the box office and being told to count it, he would reply "Oh I guess it's all right," stick the roll in his pocket and walk away. The many stories that were current about him, such as driving people off the stage and acting while intoxicated, Grierson denounced as mere fairy tales. On the contrary his nose had been broken in a combat by a clumsy actor, and this was the cause of the nasal twang of his voice which never left him. He was so careful of the safety and comfort of others that he would walk around and pick up the pins that had been dropped upon the stage, saying, "That the ladies with their light slippers might tread upon them and be seriously hurt," and when intoxicated he invariably refused to appear. His biographies speak of his rambling through a lonely forest where he picked up dead wild pigeons the hunters had left; of his taking them home and making small coffins for them to give them decent burial. Many stories were told of his regard for others and of occasional bursts of passions only when he believed himself to be treated unjustly.

Edwin Booth followed the old traditions and methods like his father before him and sought to equal the former masters or improve their work on the same lines. He never had a play written for himself, but sought to fit himself to those that were already extant. He was no specialist, no canvasser for votes beyond the footlights. Whatever his agents and managers may have forced upon him in his later years, he himself cared nothing for ostentatious display and expensive accessories. When he and Barrett traveled together, Barrett who was more particular about the scenes and decorations, reprimanded Booth for his carelessness in such matters, upon which Booth replied:—"I know you require these things. As for

me, I never take any notice of the scene, I can play to a brick wall.'' During his many engagements with Ben De Bar he was known and loved as a kind and noble artist. The stories of his occasional sprees no doubt are of the same nature as those related of his father, of whom it was said that his delivery of the Lord's Prayer at a dinner party drew tears from all present. Judging from the many people who profess having heard that delivery there must have been quite a number. The only habit that the younger Booth seemed passionately addicted to was the smoking of a little black meerschaum pipe, which he would puff during pauses in the rehearsal and in which I have often joined him in the alley way leading to the stage, until we were called to work.

The season closed the latter part of May, and as I had received repeated offers from my old manager in Louisville I accepted once more and for the last time.

During the summer, Charlotte Crampton an actress of great ability, though a wayward and erratic character arrived from Omaha in a destitute condition. She had married again for the third time, and on this occasion a lad of 22 years of age while she was in the 40's. This youth posed as her business manager, and called upon Thos. Connor, who was in the city spending his vacation, and myself to consult upon some means to relieve himself and wife of the dire distress they were in, and begged us to come and see her. We found her in a deplorable condition, in threadbare apparel and without money. Their meagre baggage had been seized for transportation, and they were devoid of everything save hope. But a few years since Charlotte Crampton had been a great favorite in this city, and delighted the public with her unique renditions of tragic characters, but having delivered herself to drink she had lost the public respect for herself as well as her art, and had been compelled to lead a gypsy life. This actress possessed the rare

gift of representing male parts equally as true as those of females, and it is doubtful if there ever lived a woman that could play a Richard III, with all its masculine force and fierce combat, and in the after pieces appear as a meek and simple swiss peasant girl as perfectly as this woman could, and so change her gait, voice and manner that but for the name on the programme, it would have been impossible to recognise the two parts as the work of the same person. She was small of statue and plain though expressive features and brilliant eyes, and her walk and manner on the stage both as man and woman was distinct and graceful. Gustavus Brooke when here in 1855, drew her before the curtain after the performance of Othello and congratulated the public of St. Louis on the excellent leading woman they possessed, and said that she was the gentlest and most perfect Desdemona he had ever met. No doubt if she had been careful and steady, this woman would have ranked with Charlotte Cushman.

Wilson's Opera House, on 4th St. between Pine and Chestnut, where Negro Minstrelry had been performed for several seasons had closed. This house was secured for a week and Charlotte Crampton advertised to appear as Evadne, Shylock, Richard III, and Meg Merriles. She was to open in Evadne with the support of the remnant of De Bar's company that were left in town. Mrs. Clark a retired actress and the proprietress of a costume establishment volunteered to furnish the proper costume for the noble Italian dame. In the evening, after finishing our make up, Conner and myself went to see what had been done for her, and we found her on the stage in gorgeous array and glittering jewels. We applauded and complimented her on her appearance, upon which she began to cry most bitterly, and pressing our hands she thanked us for the happiest day of her life in having given her once more an opportunity of feeling herself

in "her old glory." This sudden leap from dire misery to the pleasure of former days seemed to have recreated her, and I am positive she never acted better than she did on that night. As I was going to leave for Louisville the next day I went to bid her farewell at the close of the play, and she insisted that I should take an extra part of the profit of that night with my salary, and that all the others should do likewise, which, of course, was refused. Poor as she was she was ready to give the two hundred dollars away for extra pay to those that had helped her.

The next day I left for Louisville where I remained during the season of 68 to 69. Charlotte Crampton, who had now entered the ranks again played a week's engagement with us and produced the same plays as in St. Louis. She was subsequently engaged by Barney Macauley as first old woman for his theatre in Cincinnati. Her life had become more ordered and steady. Macauley swore by her and always spoke of her with pleasure and high praise, and it was under his noble care that the last years of her life were passed in calm repose, until she sickened and died and was buried by him. The old theatre goers that are still living I am sure will agree with me that she was one of the most talented women that the American Theatre has produced, and, that, though she was infected with some of the vices peculiar to men, she revealed rare womanly gifts in the exercise of her art.

The theatre at St. Louis opened in the first week of September. This season of 1869-70 is memorable for the first appearance at De Bar's theatre of Joe K. Emmett, a native of St. Louis, a genius in the vocation he had embraced, and whose continued success both from a financial as well as artistic point of view stands unrivaled in the annals of the American theatre. His first appearance as an actor took place in Buffalo N. Y. at Meecham's Opera House on the

7th, of November 1868, after which he played a week at Ellsler's Theatre, Cleveland, proving a great success in both cities, upon which he came to his native city in the early spring of 1869, and opened in a play expressly written for him entitled "Fritz, our German Cousin." The house was packed each night, and his novel portrayal of the unsophisticated and good natured German was hailed with delight. Although the structure and action of the play hovered between comedy and farce, he handled its highly colored situations and sometimes extravagant features with a naturalness and dramatic skill that made them appear as true as the scenes of real life that daily pass before us. There was a charm and magnatism in his renditions that at once took possession of and held the mind, to which was added the known fact, that he had never received instructions either from masters or experience, but had entered the arena fully formed and equipped for the contest through his own individual efforts and genius. His trade was that of a sign painter, and he enjoyed the reputation of being the best of his kind. His public work, hitherto, had been restricted to playing the snare drum occasionally at Jake Esher's Varieties and other minor theatres and Concert Saloons, and singing ballads at Benefits and charitable entertainments. He had a splendid voice and his warbling in the Tyrolese manner, rivalled the best of European mountain singers. Added to this, he possessed a body as near perfect in symmetry and grace as health and proper exercise could make it. He was an athlete, and was known as a jumper, runner, boxer, and a general gymnast of high order. He was about 5 feet 9 inches in height, dark hair and a face open and frank; of brunette complexion with large dark and merry twinkling eyes; full red lips, which when he smiled (and that was often) displayed a row of regular and well formed teeth of ivory whiteness. Taken all in all if there is any beauty in a man,

he was about a handsome specimen of that gender.

On his benefit night he was tendered an ovation such as no other actor had ever received at the old Pine Street theatre. A profusion of flowers and the present of a fine silver mounted snare drum were handed to him. Congratulatory speeches were delivered by prominent citizens, who, at every allusion to his name and native city, were answered with shouts and applause. His many songs, the tunes of which he had composed himself, were set to notes by expert musicians, for he was ignorant in the art of reading music. These sympathetic and melodious songs, ere long, were sung in the parlor and whistled in the street. At one bound he had become the most popular actor of the land, commanded the highest percentage, and was eagerly sought by all managers as the most successful money maker of his time.

He was a specialist of the best class, who instinctively knew the line that divides a strong characterization from a caricature, and thus he never became tiresome, for he appeared to have more fun in reserve than he revealed and kept one in a condition to wish for more. His pathos was also well balanced. The subject of his plays were of the domestic type and such as could be seen without offense by women and children, with whom Emmett was a source of delight. After a few seasons he changed his plays to "Fritz in Italy," "Fritz in Switzerland," etc. which gave the hero scope for new adventures and interest in various countries, and thus, for nearly twenty-two years an uninterrupted course of success accompanied him through out the civilized world until his death.

He was born in this city on the 12th, day of March, 1841, of Irish parents, and consequently belonged to that race who for the past sixty years have, comparatively, furnished more good actors for the English stage than any other people. He died in 1890, leaving

an estate which was said amounted to more than a million dollars. A great sum for one who had spent his money so freely, for he was kind-hearted and lavish with his wealth, often to his own detriment. In speaking of Emmett one cannot but think of two other St. Louisians, who attained high positions, honor and wealth in their several callings, namely, Sol Smith Russell, Gus Thomas the playwright, and Archie Boyd, who for many years rivalled the celebrated comedian Denman Thompson, in the part of Joshua Whitecomb in the Old Homestead, and who since the shelving of this play has created many other parts of the same character. But none of these obtained the phenomenal success of their townsman, who leaving his humble paint shop, with one stride faced the glare of the footlights as a conqueror, and without diminution ruled as such until he was pushed from the scene by the implacable hand of death.

A similar genius in the person of a woman also appeared during this period.

Lottie Crabtree, the daughter of a concert saloon keeper of San Francisco, where, when a child she sang and danced upon a table in her father's establishment. During the latter part of the 60's she entered upon a starring tour and proved an artistic and financial success. Like Emmett, she too at one leap had cleared every obstruction and without any other experience than that of her performances to an audience composed of miners, had, in a short space of time attained a phenomenal success in the best theatres of the country. She traveled with her mother, a shrewd lady who managed the financial part of the business, and her father, a good natured soul who was fond of his toddy and cheerful company, and who was charged with managing the outside affairs, for which purpose he received the sum of twenty-five cents a day to work up the business for his talented daughter.

The house was continually packed to witness the various comic dramas of her repertoire. She was a character of rare merit, and one of the few who owed their success to what they did and not to what they are, for her personal attractions were not of the kind to arouse enthusiasm. Small and slight in figure, reddish hair, and a face though plain and girlish in its contour and expressive of kindness and cheerfulness, was such as could be readily made up and converted into that of a child or an old woman—what might be called a typical actor's face. Her chief characters were tom-boys, hoyden, school girls and eccentric old women, until through the advice of Ben De Bar who saw the latent talent of the girl, several plays of a higher order were written to suit her genius. Prominent among these was "The Old Curiosity Shop," in which she sustained the double roles of "Nell" and the "Little Marchioness" in a manner that would have delighted Dickens himself. She played it to overflowing houses, and her engagements always were for at least two, if not three weeks, during which the street in front of the theatre was often so densely packed that it was difficult for the actors to reach the stage door. All her new pieces received their first performance in St. Louis where they were directed and staged by Ben De Bar, though later this honor was accredited to the managers of New York City. On her benefits, also, speeches were made, and medals, presents and flowers offered profusely. As she was of a staid and exemplary character she was highly esteemed, and she showed her practical good sense by retiring at the height of her success as soon as she had amassed sufficient wealth, and before reaching that age in which actors are generally relegated to the ranks of what is termed the "has beens," and this she did without any noise or ostentation. To my knowledge she never was married, and no mention is made of her since her retire-

ment. She owed much to Ben De Bar and she always showed her gratitude and affection for him as to a father.

During the period of 1871 to '73, Edwin Adams in his great rendition of Enoch Arden, the Wallack, Davenport and Mrs. Farren combination appeared in their classic productions of "Julius Cæsar," "Werner," "Iron Master" etc. with but little success. Edwin Davenport was a renowned American actor, whose versatility enabled him to play tragic characters like Sir Giles Overreach, and William the sailor in "Blackeyed Susan," and dance a hornpipe and sing "A Yankee Ship and a Yankee Crew," the same evening. On being called before the curtain to make a speech, he told the audience that he had come to the conclusion that the legitimate day was past, and he and Wallack were going to learn to play on the bones and the banjo, to accompany Mrs. Farren's jig, and that they would return next season to make up for what they had lost in this.

Hackett, the celebrated interpreter of Falstaff had passed away and since that period the character had not been attempted by any actor of note. De Bar resolved to fill this void. After several years of study, in 1872, he finally appeared as the "merry knight" to an enthusiastic audience assembled at the Pine street theatre to witness the crowning act of his long professional career. He was now sixty years of age and the vim and humor with which he rendered the character were such as called forth admiration and surprise. The most pronounced and strongest element in De Bar's composition as an actor was that of a lively sense of the ludicrous, which, coupled with a quaint dash of humor, found its highest expression in such characters as Shakespeare's Dagberry, Touchstone and Bottom; and Micawber, the Mock Duke, Bob Acres, the Lawyer in "London Assurance" and the Apothecary in "The Poor Gentleman" of the English

comedies, together with Toodles, Robert Macaire and numerous others of the English farce species. Besides these, he also had a repertoire of Burlesques and Extravaganzas that he was fond of, in which he stood unrivalled, and never to be forgotten by those that have witnessed them. When it was known that he was about to essay the difficult part of Falstaff, so different from those he had been accustomed to, it was feared he would not be able to divest himself of the style and mannerisms which the aforesaid characters entailed, and which had become almost as a second nature to him. But everybody was agreeably deceived, for he had freed himself from his former conventionalities, and though he did not reach the perfection of Hackett his great predecessor, he was superior to all the others that so far had attempted the task. It must have been a heroic struggle for a man of his years to disengage himself from the ways and means of these parts to which he had restricted himself during the latter part of his life, and so completely to disindividualise himself as to make it appear he had adopted an altogether new system of acting. Even his favorite expression "egad" which his actors were expecting him to say was discarded after using it several times during the first performance. It was a triumph that he could well be proud of, and from this time forth whenever an opera troupe or combination took possession of the theatre, he and his company departed for Detroit, Lansing, Bay City, the towns of Illinois and Missouri and Nashville and Memphis to play "The Merry Wives of Windsor" and "Henry IV." Later he starred in the part in all the great Eastern cities with indifferent financial success; but that was no wonder, for Hackett himself during the last fifteen years of his life had been unable to draw a crowded house in the character. The time was past, and a rapid change had begun.

During the winter of 72-73 we were sent to Memphis

for five successive weeks to support De Bar, Frank Chanfrau, and John Collins. I know not if De Bar had any interest in the Memphis theatre as in that of the St. Charles at New Orleans, which was a losing speculation, and that of Montreal, Canada, which was under his management. Our five weeks stay in Memphis was the most melancholy ever passed. Business was dire bad, besides the city was infected with the three pests of epizootic, meningitis and small pox. In the neighborhood of my boarding house a number of yellow flags were fluttering in the breeze, and many doors had signs prefixed to them with the cheerful inscription "Beware—Small Pox." Many people sickened and died, and those who were well were gloomy and growled, and most of the horses were coughing. To make matters worse, I had little to do at the theatre, and so could sit in my room and philosophise or look out of the window on a field of snow where a party of crows held a daily picnic and vainly tried to dance a modern three step to their lugubrious croaking, and in the stilly hours of night I could listen to the continual thumping of a cotton press near by and the weird and melancholy song of the negroes that worked it.

During the first week the startling news came that John Norton was down with the small-pox at the Sister's Hospital where he had been left by his company a week before our arrival. About the third week William Wiggins our comedian and my friend took ill and I was called upon to take him to the train for home. He was very sick, and when I saw him I knew at once what ailed him, having been in the same condition myself. When we arrived at the train he suddenly exclaimed "I don't like that, that's a bad omen!" Upon asking him what he meant, he replied "That sparrow flew across the track from the right to the left. I wish he had flown the other way! I doubt if you'll ever see me again after this." He was

fond of reading the story of "Renard the Fox" and his fevered imagination had recalled the episode where the Fox refuses to obey the lion on account of a like occurrence. I brought him to his sleeper, and it was the last time I saw him, for on our return he was dead and buried. He was an upright man, a comedian whose talents had given promise of future excellence. He left a widow and two sons, both of whom are stage hands and residents of this city. The season of '73 opened in September with that clever impersonator of old men, Mark Smith, a son of the veteran manager. He appeared with Ben De Bar as the two Dromios in a "Comedy of Errors." This was the first season in the theatre on Market street which was henceforth to be called De Bar's Opera House, while the old Drury on Pine street was let for the purpose of vaudeville shows and was called the Comique, even after several women had been murdered within its walls during its short lived existence. It was as tough an institution as the toughest could desire, and the first Vaudeville Theatre, for hitherto this species of show had been confined to Concert Halls and beer saloons.

When De Bar took possession of the place his first act was to take down the portrait of B. Wakefield the gambler and former manager, who had removed the portrait of Shakespeare from the proscenium and placed his own in its stead. This was a desecration not to be borne, and so the poker player was torn from his elevation to make room for the poet. A new curtain had been painted by Leon Pomerede and Henry Willicher, representing "The Dream of Happiness." It was a showy and clever composition in which arts and the muses were represented by mythological figures assempled in charming groups in a beautiful grove backed by Greek temples and rising mountains. Before long, however, serious complaints were made that the figures which were semi-nude, were vulgar—that is not sufficiently dressed. De Bar

sent for Pomerede and after a chuckling laugh and some hesitation told him of the trouble. The painter was dumbfounded and enquired if he thought the figures immodest. De Bar replied "Egad, I've no objection to them, but we will have to dress them my boy—and the worst of the matter is that its not those that pay who are kicking, but the damned deadheads." And so they were all dressed in long robes that reached unto the chin, and after a season or so they were wiped out to make room for another subject.

Adelaide Neilson played a two week's engagement, during which she appeared in "As You Like It" the first week. The second week was reserved for "Measure for Measure," in which her "Isabel" was a marvelous performance. She was a young and beautiful woman and reminded one of Julia Dean. She had been a London bar-maid until an old actor discovered her talents, undertook her tuition and cleared the way for her career. She died in Paris, and there was some suspicion that she had been poisoned.

During the Spring of this season of 1873-4 I directed and managed an entertainment for the South St. Louis Dramatic Club, an association of young men and women of some of the oldest and respected families of South St. Louis. The club possessed a small but select library and a suite of rooms to which known actors and singers were always welcome on their festal gatherings for the promotion of intellectual pleasures and good cheer.

The mapority of its members are still living and have made their mark as merchants, laywers, physicians, manufacturers and master mechanics. It comprised the following members: —F. I. Doerr, Bernard Dierkes, G. H. Droege, Ed Guion, F. V. Dauth, Henry Wetzel, A. H. Geisel, R. F. Slange, Lutteke, Weil, Henry Doerr, Chas. Blum. Mat. Hanauer, Chas. Hanauer and F. Siegel. Quartette:— F. J. Doerr, Dewes, B. Dierkes and Jas. Sales. The ladies who

assisted at the Dramatic Entertainments were as follows: Miss Guion, Mrs. G. H. Droege, Miss H. Keller, Miss D. Eichle, Miss Mary Nuelle, Miss Matilda Roentgen, Miss Emily Dauth and Veronica Geisel.

The initial performance took place on Jan. 8th 1873 at the old Apollo Theatre on Fourth between Plum and Cerre street, on which occasion the operetta of "The Swiss Cottage," and the farce of "The Lottery Ticket" were presented to a well filled house.

This Association lived for sixteen years, when its members having become heads of families and managers of business they were prevented from devoting further time to the same. It was succeeded by "The Paragon Club" which lasted ten years and from which sprang what is now known as the popular and efficient "Paragon Quartette" that comprises the following excellent singers: Ben Bloemke, Jos. Saler, Chas. Blum and Arthur Poss. Although many of the above named possessed the talent not one of them has adopted the actor's profession.

For the season of 1874-75 George Chaplin was engaged as stage manager. This actor had passed the early part of his career under the management of De Bar in St. Louis and New Orleans. He was what is called an efficient all round actor and possessed of a fine appearance and as he had formerly served satisfactorily as stage manager in 1868, his arrival was looked upon with pleasure. He was known to be conscientious in the performance of his duties, strictly sober, honest in his dealings and solicitous for the welfare and just treatment of his colleagues. When the rehearsal of a new play threatened to be lengthened beyond a reasonable time, he would take the book from the prompter at one o'clock, and at two he would close it with a thump and say "Thats enough! People must eat and rest as well as work! Thats enough for one day!" and all opposition from the star

was fruitless. He had no talent for gaining popularity outside of the theatre, but attended strictly to business, was prudent and saving without parsimony and spent his free hours independently after his own manner and without courting the company of the fast livers and sports who are fond of posing as the patrons of actors. De Bar wished to retain him another season but could not induce him to remain. Subsequently he became Fanny Jananschek's leading man and remained with her for many years. He is now in New York where he owns property, and living at ease in his own house a retired actor and bachelor, at 76 years of age.

During this season Fanny Jananschek appeared. This lady after having spent a life time on the German stage had undertaken to master the English language. She came to us very much improved in pronunciation since her appearance at the old theatre on Pine St., where, on seeing a tottering super trying to support himself on his spear, she asked "What is de metter wid dat men?" and upon being told that he was drunk she shouted "Trow him right away in de elly out!" She still retained a slight but not unpleasant dialect and her renditions of "Mary Stuart" and "Debora the Jewess" were master pieces of art in spite of her age, plain features and stout figure, which were forgotten by intelligent and impartial minds. She was generally supposed to be German but this was a mistake, for she was a Bohemian with all the Czech prejudices of that race against what ever is German, and she was known to have repelled demonstrations of admiration from the people in a brutal manner. The Germans, on the contrary, honored and esteemed her as an artist that belonged to their nation.

She was a bright woman and a superior tragic actress, as is proved by her having mastered two difficult foreign languages, English and German, and

by her renditions of Mary Stuart and Deborah, and her reputation in Europe and America. The cause of her failure, after a life long struggle, lay in her repellant disposition and a drunken and worthless husband, who died forsaken in a hospital at Lynn, Mass., during the 80s. She passed from this life completing the last act of her eventful life in the Forrest home near Philadelphia.

Since the removal from Pine street De Bar had relaxed considerably in his attention to the business of the stage. He was generally absent except when necessitated to play in some piece, and it appeared that he had grown comparatively indifferent. He was also forgetful at times and made promises and did things that a few moments after he could not remember. These occurrences, at the time, were looked upon as mere instances of absentmindedness, though, doubtless they were the premonitions of a fatal disease. He evidently longed for rest and looked to others to do the work and superintend his affairs. The first time he met John Norton he took a great fancy to him and offered to engage him as his stage manager, which Norton declined. In 1875, however, he succeeded in securing him for that position, besides giving him full power to engage, discharge and direct the dramatic affairs of the theatre as he thought best.

John Norton was an excellent actor of heroes and lovers, and through his connection with the best theatres of the country, an intelligent and skillful stage director in all that pertained to the legitimate drama. Added to this he was a fine looking young fellow in the best years of his life, full of energy and ambition, and with all this he combined a talent for business and a knack of gaining friends and popularity rarely found in actors. Soon after his arrival he began to remove various abuses that had been caused through the indifference of De Bar, who approved of

his efforts, and "John" as he called him, at once became his right hand, and remained so until his death.

The business thrived under his direction, and ere long his admirable impersonation of Romeo, Sir Thomas Clifford, Ingemar and other youthful heroes, together with his generous and sociable disposition made him such a favorite both on and off the stage as had not been seen until then.

During his management, Mary Anderson of Louisville made her first appearance in this city, and though but a crude beginner she made quite a furore. John Norton who believed her to possess talents of a superior order did every thing in his power to promote her interests, by procuring engagements for her and extending instruction and advice. She soon became a great success and for some years starred in the best theatres and filled them nightly. This success was chiefly owing to Norton's early energetic efforts and teachings, for which, it was said he received but little gratitude. This lady who was possessed of no mean talents and endowed with a form and features of classic beauty, would have proved a more solid and lasting success, if extravagant praise and idolatrous adulation had not so suddenly raised her to a height unwarranted by her ability. On her return from England she brought a company of mediocre English actors with her, because of which the battery of criticism was played upon this excellent lady in a most disgraceful manner, and she, who had lately been spoken of as "Our divine Mary," was now the target for ribald jests and bitter satire. She was no longer great, and they were right enough in that, and knew it long before. Under proper conditions and training she would have made a very acceptable actress, but compared to others of that period, greatness was out of the question. Her case was only another peculiar to that period, that of building a house without any

regard to the foundation, and she was unmade by that which made her, fulsome praise and printer's ink. She had amassed considerable wealth, married a rich man and retired to London where she lives at present. She was an exemplary, good and finely cultured lady, who strove to attain the highest, and was honored and esteemed by all who came in contact with her.

On October 2, 1876, De Bar opened in Falstaff for a week: I have a programme of the third performance, which reads as follows:—

HENRY IV.

Sir John Falstaff	Ben De Bar
King Henry IV	George Grey
Prince Henry	J. T. Huntley
Hotspur	Chas. A. Krone
Worcester	Robt. Grierson
Westmoreland	Geo. Berrell
Sir Walter Blunt	T. C. Baker
Richard Vernon	F. James
Douglas	W. Schuette
Northumberland	J. Stevens
Sheriff	B. Williams
Poins	A. Lecroix
Bardolph	O. W. Blake
Gadshill	W. S. Brown
Peto	J. W. Griffin
Francis	Percy Plunkett
Raby	W. Barton
Dame Quickly	Eliza Andrews

Tomorrow, Oct. 5, 1876, Merry Wives of Windsor.

It was during this week, I think, that De Bar was presented with a Falstaff medal that was said to have been the same that was presented on a like occasion to a comedien of Shakespeare's time. It had been discovered by a lady while examining some old coins in a pawn brokers shop, and appreciating its value

she purchased the relic with the generous and noble purpose of presenting it to De Bar. It was a graceful act and gave great pleasure to the receiver. During this week several instances of loss of memory were perceived in De Bar, however, without interfering with his work. When off the scene he looked gloomy and reflective, as if some heavy matter weighed upon his mind. Later McKee Rankin came to play the "Danites" for which a mountain torrent of real water was prepared. This mass of yellow and muddy water issued through a rocky opening in the background some twenty feet above the level of the stage and fell into a basin beneath from whence it was led into the street. In its descent, besides flooding a great part of the stage it made such a noise that it was impossible for me to hear my cue for entering, though but about fifteen feet distant from the players on the scene. I was doing the Danite, and as it was my first performance of the part, I was nervous and anxiously watching the lips of the actors for the cue, for hear them I could not, and I doubt whether the audience did. While standing thus I felt a hand upon my shoulder and turning around saw De Bar closely wrapped in his old black cloak, one end of which he had thrown over his left shoulder in the manner of a Roman toga. He looked ill and troubled and with a sad voice asked "What do you think of that, my boy!" I replied "I think it is idiotic, or at best, a silly child play!" He answered, "Egad, so do I," and after a deep fetched sigh continued "I'd like to know what we're coming to." After the act was over, I saw him as he slowly crossed the stage, stop for a moment at the stage door as if in thought, look around once more at the noise and bustle of the scene and depart for home. One of the stage hands remarked, "The old man, I fear, is on his last legs!"

The sad words "what are we coming to?" might

have been answered with "We're not coming, but already have arrived" at the period in which the former severe and simple methods had departed. Managers and owners of theatres strictly speaking, had begun to be mere landlords and overseers whose real business was managed for them by speculators, agents and promoters in New York instead of by themselves. Stars instead of traveling alone and managing their affairs, brought agents, stage managers and dressers along with them, and, some even of the spurious successful kind brought their parents and relatives, parasite plants that lived on the brains of their betters, and hung around the theatre to criticise and make life uncomfortable, especially if their protégé happened to be a money maker. The time-honored saying of old Peter Richings, a Philadelphia manager, "That the stage ought to be as sacred to an actor as the quarter-deck of a man of war is to a naval officer" was forgotten, and agents and promoters walked on to the stage and sat at or upon the prompter's table while rehearsal was going on, often with a cigar in the mouth. And yet it was not so long since, that during rehearsal De Bar would not permit the greatest actor to carry a cane nor a woman to hold a purse or a book in her hand, and as for the prompter's table, that was to be approached on urgent business, alone, and with respect. John Norton's management was strict and he himself an honest hater of the new invasion, of which he was wont to say "That the best of it was rot and good for nothing"—had to submit to it or make himself obnoxious and useless.

The fad of female stars advertising their dresses to be displayed on exhibition in such and such a place also had come in vogue, and the ladies of the town invited to examine them and admire the diamonds and trinkets, the gifts of potentates and aristocrats, which, if there had existed a proper sense of modesty

had better been kept under lock and key and never mentioned. These are some of the things we had already arrived at, and worse was to come after he had gone to sleep beneath the shadowing oaks of Bellefontaine.

The few successful stars of the old regime through their agents and promoters were demanding seventy per cent and sometimes even more, and consequently seasons were shortened and the prices of admission raised to such a height that a poor man and his family were unable to see the best, and against all these abuses not a single powerful and influential voice was raised. Booth, Barrett and Joseph Jefferson should have done this for it might have worked some good. But, no doubt, they feared to endanger their success, when it was not a question of success, but to prove themselves worthy of the nimbus of greatness with which men had invested them, and to manfully protect against the corruption. "Strive for the right with all your might, then stand or fall you've won the fight," that in the end is the vital question that concerns the world, and not whether Mr. So and So has filled his purse with shekels. True, Lawrence Barrett on several occasions published some articles in a Review and condemned the degenerate condition of affairs, but it needed no "ghost come from the grave" to inform the average reader of Reviews of that fact. It should have been done in the daily journals that are accessible to the people at large to have any effect, if such was possible. Perhaps he felt that it was useless and that the abuse would fall to pieces from its own rotteness some day, as it certainly will, and make room for a better time.

Booth and Barrett were the most successful stars that remained of the old ideal school, but along side of these there had sprung up a host that was continually increasing the so called realistic school whose highest aim was the actual reproduction of the reverse

side of human life with its vulgarities and aberrations of crime, and these flooded the popular theatres with horrible scenes of slaughter and the erotic degeneracies of criminals, who often, were personally employed to publish their own disgrace. The question what benefit the world could reap from such was answered two thousand years ago by a Greek philosopher. A realistic painter had produced a perfect likeness of a most hideous and deformed hunchback. Full of pride and conceit he asked a philosopher "Do I not deserve great credit for this work?" He answered, "You do indeed, for before you painted this picture we had only one crooked abortion like that in the town, and now we've got two!" As regards the public who take these monstrosities for real, another anecdote will suffice. The aforesaid realistic artist had also painted a bunch of grapes, and in proof of their naturalness boasted that the sparrows had come and pecked at them, upon which the philosopher replied "That only proves them genuine sparrows, no sane man would ever attempt to eat them."

And this puts me in mind of another modern example. Some strolling actors played Othello in a Kentucky village. After the play a countryman was asked how he liked it and he replied "Not a bit, for a damned nigger is the best actor in your company." Here was another sparrow.

Harry Sullivan and Edwin Adams played successful engagements during this last season of the old Stock Company, while Chequeta Dargon, an excellent actress proved a financial failure. George Rignold in Henry V held the boards for three weeks to fair business. It was a fine production of that historical play. The scenery and costumes were those that had been used by Charles Kean on its original production in London. One hundred tall supers were engaged to represent the English yeomanry, besides a chorus of cathedral chimes, and several efficient English actors

to represent the characters of Fluellen Pistol, the Prologue, the Frenchman and the French Princess served to make this performance unique in its kind.

Lottie came in the spring. "Tip" was rehearsed. De Bar had played the part of Billy Bokus the comical fat boy heretofore, but when it came to his turn to speak he was unable to remember the lines. He struggled desperately to recall them, but in vain. He appeared to be deeply moved and made several more desperate attempts to master the lines, when with a deep drawn sigh he remarked "Its no use, I'll have to give it up," and departed for home. As I recollect, this was the last time I saw him in life; his illness from this day increased rapidly, until the 28th of August 1877, when he closed his eyes forever.

The long and useful career of an artist and a man of exemplary character had come to a close like the last scene of a good play that gives satisfaction and leaves a grateful remembrance. It is often said that there is no man the world can not do without. True the sun will rise and set as usual and men pursue their accustomed course but the void that some souls leave at their departure will remain forever.

De Bar was called from the scene when the sentiments and social conditions that had produced the phase of art he represented had passed away. It was a period of transition, the new had not yet found its form, and the actor had virtually gone back three hundred years to the itinerary system when strolling companies wandered through the land until a genius appeared and gave utterance to the noblest that the nation felt, and strove to realize, and embodied the same in beautiful forms. And thus it will be again in the future. He passed away at the right hour for he would not have fitted in the new order of things. He belonged to another age.

He was born in Chancery Lane, London, on the fifth of November 1812. His father was a clerk in the

Bank of England. He left school in his twelfth year and entered the grocery business, but soon ran away to join a traveling company. After trying an attorney's office which he didn't like, his father having died, his mother gave her consent to his being an actor, and he opened as a ballet dancer in a minor theatre. His first appearance as an actor took place at the Royal Theatre, Margate Kent, where he appeared as a page in the farce of "The Page and the Purse." His rapid improvement soon secured him an engagement as leading man at a salary of $3.50 to $3.75 a week. In 1835 he came to America and opened Caldwell's Theatre in New Orleans, where, as leading man he received $15.00 per week. He brought his mother with him and his sister who married Junius Brutus Booth, a son of the elder of that name, and who is the mother of Blanch De Bar. In 1838, for the first time he appeared in St. Louis. In 1840 he commenced as a comedian. He was married twice. Of the first marriage a daughter was still living until a few years ago. His second marriage was Miss Hattie Vallee, a dancer and pantominist, an excellent artist and a quiet and kind lady who never interfered in her husband's business, and to whom those who had grievances with the manager never appealed in vain to influence her husband in their behalf. It was generally believed that De Bar's estate amounted to about half a million dollars. After much litigation it was found that all that was left consisted of a gold watch valued at $125, a Falstaff medal at $100, and a topaz ring at $100, and these were sold to Mrs. Lester, his daughter for $175. Mrs. De Bar was compelled to retire to the "Forrest Home" where she died some years ago.

This is a brief outline of the history of the man whose body on the 30th of August lay in state at the Masonic Temple. After a sermon by the Rev. Dr. McAnally the body was placed in the hearse to the

funeral strains of the united orchestras of the different theatres, and a procession consisting of the Masonic fraternity and the employees and actors of the different theatres who followed on foot, besides a numerous cortege of coaches who brought up the rear. At the cemetery the Masonic rites were rendered and a company of singers and an instrumental quartette performed a solemn dirge while the grave diggers filled the pit which contained the mortal remains of him who for so many years had been my employer, friend and teacher, and I felt as if a good piece of myself was being buried with him.

Edwin Davenport, his friend, also died that year. Since then every one of the bright lights of that period and nearly all those that supported them have likewise passed away. But a few of them are left, and when—

"I remember all the friends I've seen together,
I've seen around me fall like leaves in wintry weather,
I feel like one who treads alone some banquet hall deserted
The flowers dead, the music fled, and all but me departed.

And now ladies and gentlemen permit me to ring down the curtain on the last act of these desultory and lengthy papers. As I have arrived at an age in which before long I shall be compelled to obey the great prompter's call, it has given me great pleasure once more to meet so many of the old time patrons face to face and to appear before them, perhaps for the last time in a sort of professional way. To those of the present generation who have shown interest for what their fathers did, and to one and all my heartfelt thanks for the patience, interest and encouragement you have shown me, and so farewell.

EPILOGUE.

Many years have elapsed since the above papers were delivered before the Missouri Historical Society, and during that period eight parts of the same have been published in the magazine of the Society. I have occasionally been asked to add a fifth act comprising my wandering experience, which, after De Bar's death in 1877 extended over an often interrupted period of twenty-five years, during which every large city and almost every small town of any note in the United States, and various towns in Canada were visited, making altogether a travel of many miles within the border of Old Mexico and Winnipeg Manitoba and Portland, Maine and San Francisco. During these travels, besides the usual vicissitudes experienced by travelers on land and water, I escaped from two railroad collisions and as many hotel fires. However as the chief object of these papers was to describe, if possible, the social and intellectual status of the stage as I had seen and experienced it, I thought it prudent to close with the death of one of the last representatives of a period who had labored for intellectual and artistic ends, and once more bring before the minds of those who lived during that period the recollection of the bye-gone pleasures they had enjoyed in their younger days, and to call up the shadowy images of those worthies that then had been their delight. Besides, I thought some humble contribution to the annals of the stage at that time in St. Louis might be gleaned from this effort.

The itinerary period which followed the closing of the stock theatres, though fraught with occasional moments of professional satisfaction, was upon the whole, far from inspiring me with a desire to perpetuate the disagreeable episodes they contained, and

which eventually resulted in the "canned acting" of the movies of to-day in place of the former original and natural product.

The entire dramatic business had fallen into the hands of speculators who had neither love, taste or knowledge of the same, and who made it their ruling principle to entirely break with the past and in the future to pursue a purely commercial course, so, that any actor was sure to be refused an engagement if he said he had been in the business many years, during which he had supported Booth, Barrett, Forrest, Kean and other great lights. Quite young people were preferred, who were drilled for months in one part, in New York City where the market was always kept well supplied with a material that could not be a silent reproach to these exploiters as old and routined actors might have been, whom they could not work similarly to day laborers by the hour. Of course, as I was over forty years of age, and had been in close contact with the greatest in my profession, engagements during many seasons were often very few and far between. However, considering the times and conditions some few positions occurred, which left nothing to be wished for. Such were several strong melodramatic companies; besides an engagement of six weeks at Daly's Theatre in New York, where in the last play written by Dion Boucicault for Sol Smith Russell I appeared in a very strong character part and was recalled nightly in the middle of the scene. The great American critic of the New York Tribune considered the rendition of this character "a piece of work worthy of a Possart." The play was suposed to have run three years, but Sol Russell's part failed to give satisfaction to the author and he insisted it should be shelved, leaving Russell some four thousand dollars poorer and me to look for another engagement. After this I played Quilp in Curiosity Shop for three weeks, and the Emperor Justinian in Theodora, all of which

were favorably noticed by the New York press, a pleasure I repeatedly enjoyed while playing in that city. Later on I also appeared with Julia Marlowe on her first engagement abroad. Also the classical seasons during the close of the last century and the beginning of the next, in which the best of the standard English dramas, and the great tragedies of Shakespeare were represented at the Imperial theatre and various summer gardens in a creditable manner by efficient actors, is worthy of honorable mention as the last effort in that direction in St. Louis. These are bright recollections among many I do not care to dwell upon where neither the work nor the surroundings were worthy to be mentioned. My last steady engagement of nineteen weeks was also rather agreeable as it was with a good repertoire company who played week stands in smaller towns, and, as the bill was changed each night it gave me the opportunity of appearing every night in another part, a system which strongly reminded me of the old stock days.

Since then I have assisted at times with recitations, and played with several Literary and Dramatic Clubs, and notably among these it is with the greatest satisfaction and pleasure that I refer to my performance of Old Scrooge in Dickens' Christmas Carol, as it is likely the last part I shall be called upon to play, and therefore rejoice that it was in a standard work of a great man and a genius.

I have now entered upon my eighty-eighth year, and thanks to the noble generosity of my son Charles, and the indefatigable industry and heroic pluck of my most excellent daughter Jeanette Krone, who, since my faithful wife's death seventeen years ago, not only has succeeded in keeping our home intact but has been busy as a teacher of vocal and instrumental music and a singer of acknowledged merit. I assist her whenever I can in her arduous duties, notwithstanding I have more leisure than I desire to

read, study, think of the past, and ponder upon what a difficult task I had undertaken in striving to harmonise the state of an actor on a comparative small salary with the duties of a citizen, husband and the father of a family; a task which under present conditions would be simply impossible. However, in possession of comparative good health of body and mind, the company of good friends, the recollections of the good and noble teachers of the past, and last though not least, the encouragement these papers received from the officers of the Missouri Historical Society and its members, are grateful recollections. At an advanced age like that of mine one may be called upon at any moment by the great prompter to appear in the last scene, and so I thought it would not be amiss to make a few things clear as regards the old "player" before the curtain falls, by adding this epilogue to the four preceding acts. Once more with kind regards to all, I am,

Yours respectfully,

Charles A. Krone.

CHARLES PARSONS PETTUS.

1876—1923.

By Louis LaBeaume

Too often it is written, and too often does it appear true that the competitive conditions of our modern life tend to dull our finer sensibilities. Gracious habits and kindly ways of thought seem almost out of key with our feverish activities, though we recognize and respond to the fine essence of gentleness when we discern it in one of our fellows. Instinctively we feel such a one to be the embodiment and guardian of a precious tradition, and in acknowledging the nobility of fine manners and fair dealing we ennoble ourselves and recover some degree of our own self respect. So the sudden death of Charles Parsons Pettus on the afternoon of Friday, June 22nd, caused a shock and a sense of loss not only to the thousands who knew him as a friend, but to those countless numbers to whom his kindly and generous personality had been an inspiration and a guiding flame. There is no hyperbole in this statement, for no man among us touched life in so many and various ways. His zest for living was sharp and unquenchable, and his interest in the work and play, the hopes and accomplishments of his contemporaries was indefatigable. His life and interests were woven into the very fabric of the city, and in his loss we have lost something of ourselves. Fortunate in his heritage, fortunate in his character and fortunate in his happy life, he was prompted continuously by the spirit of "noblesse oblige," and took upon his willing shoulders the burdens and responsibilities of numberless good works. The list of his activities is endless, and his business and social contacts so

CHARLES PARSONS PETTUS

numerous that one wonders where or how he found time to cultivate so sure a taste in the finer arts and in books, or to follow so avidly the march of science. But the impelling curiosity of a fine mind lead him to explore in many fields.

He died in the full flush of health. A guest at the Rolling Rock Club, at Ligonier near Pittsburgh, he mounted a horse belonging to his brother-in-law, Mr. Thruston Wright, and left the Club for a ride through the neighboring countryside. After some hours the horse returned riderless. Pettus was found by passers by, lying in the road unconscious with a fractured skull. He never regained consciousness, and the nature of the accident must ever remain unexplained as he was an experienced horseman, thoroughly familiar with the animal he was riding. A sudden lurch or a faulty stirrup may have unseated him, or he may have been rendered dizzy by the intense heat and so lost his balance.

Charles Parsons Pettus was born in St. Louis on the 15th day of October 1876. He belonged peculiarly to St. Louis for the names which he bore and the families from whom he derived had been intimately and prominently associated with the city almost from the time of its founding. He received his early education in St. Louis at Smith Academy, and at Washington University from which institution he was graduated in 1899. After finishing his course at Smith Academy, and before entering the University, he made a tour of the world with his uncle, Mr. Charles Parsons, and his native instincts for beauty and its manifestations in art, were undoubtedly quickened by this experience. After his graduation from Washington University he entered the State Bank, of which Mr. Parsons was President, receiving there his early business training which was later to be supplemented in other important posts.

During the war he gave up all active business con-

nections to take charge of the department of Canteen Relief of the South Western Division of the Red Cross. His efficient and untiring work here as Director was characteristic of his general attitude of service. In 1920 he became Vice-President and Director of the American Trust Company which last occupation was perhaps the most active and congenial of his business career.

He was a member of the Noonday Club, the Racquet Club, the St. Louis Country Club, the City Club, the Sunset Club, the Round Table, the Academy of Science, the Chamber of Commerce and the Bankers Club.

His interest in public and philanthropic affairs was indicated by membership in many directorates. He acted for many years as Treasurer of the St. Louis Anti-Tuberculosis Society, Treasurer of the Barnard Free Skin and Cancer Hospital, Trustee of the Martha Parsons Free Hospital for Children, Secretary and Treasurer of the St. Louis Country Day School, Member of the Charity Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, Secretary of the St. Louis Mercantile Library Association, Director of the St. Louis Chapter of the Archeological Institute, Vice-President of the St. Louis Association of Trust Officers, Treasurer of the Alumni Association of Washington University, and treasurer of the Round Table.

To all these posts he brought wise counsel and dependability of character, but perhaps his strongest personal enthusiams were shown in his long connection with the Missouri Historical Society and the City Art Museum. His connection with the Historical Society was almost traditional, and his loyalty and zeal for it were unswerving. His membership on the Board of Control of the City Art Museum dated from the time of its establishment as a Municipal Institution under the administration of the present board in June 1912, and he served as Treasurer of

the Board, during most of this period. His interest in the Museum was intense. His natural tastes, and the cultivation of them by foreign travel and by constantly refreshed familiarity with paintings and objects of art, fitted him exceptionally for this trust. His advice and judgment were invaluable, and his high standards were an inspiration to his fellow directors and to the community. To the large and interesting collections bequeathed by his uncle in his care to Washington University he had added with intelligent discrimination. He loved pictures and beautiful objects for their own sake, but never forgot his trust and its obligation to the community, realizing fully the great joy and the spiritual value inherent in beautiful things.

On June 11th, 1902 he married Miss Georgia Wright, and the home they made together became a focus of generous hospitality and social charm. His own vivid interest in life and people was matched by the enthusiasm of his wife, and many distinguished visitors to St. Louis owe some of their pleasantest memories of the city to the grace and tact of their hospitality.

His widow and their five children, Charles Parsons, Jr., Thomas Wright, Martha Ann, Thruston and Mary Saugrain will ever cherish the memory of his sweet nature, his high character, and his winning personality.

For three generations the name he bore has been conspicuous in the life of St. Louis, and Charles Parsons Pettus not only strove always to be worthy of it but added by his own inimitable personality a fresh lustre to it. His father, Mr. W. H. H. Pettus, well known for more than half a century in financial circles died on February 2, 1922, at the age of 81. William Henry Harrison Pettus was the son of William Grymes Pettus who came to St. Louis in June 1818, and was from that time until the day of his

death in December 1867, active in the affairs of the city and State. William G. Pettus served as Secretary of the first Constitutional Convention in 1820-1821, and as Secretary of State under the administration of Missouri's first Governor Alexander McNair. In 1824 he acted as Probate Judge of St. Charles County and was elected State Senator in the session of 1832. "In every situation occupied by him he acquitted himself in a manner which did credit to his ability. Frank, sincere and honorable he through life displayed an uprightness and integrity in which all who had relations with him, reposed entire confidence."

W. H. H. Pettus married Mary Amelia Saugrain and so were linked two families conspicuous in the upbuilding of the city.

Frederick Saugrain, the maternal grandfather of Charles Parsons Pettus, was a son of Dr. Antoine Francois Saugrain, the first Scientist of the Mississippi Valley who was born in Paris in 1763 and came first to Spanish America (Mexico) in 1783, to make an investigation of minerals. Four years later he returned to America with a letter of introduction to his fellow philosopher and savant Dr. Benjamin Franklin of Philadelphia. On this second visit, young Saugrain was attached to the expedition of the botanist Piqué, organized to visit the Ohio River territory and study its natural history. The journal of this expedition kept by Dr. Saugrain himself and published by the American Antiquarian Society shows the enterprise to have been dangerous and difficult. The party set out from Pittsburgh March 19, 1788. They were attacked by Indians and Piqué was killed, but Saugrain arrived in Louisville March 29. He reached Pittsburgh again on the return voyage on June 17, and tarried some time in Philadelphia before returning to Paris.

He landed again on the shores of America in May

1790, and after some years spent in Gallipolis, Ohio and Lexington, Kentucky came to St. Louis in 1800, at the urgent request of Trudeau, Governor of the territory then under the sovereignty of France. Here he resided until his death in 1821 as the first physician in the Colony.

All of the fine qualities of this ancestry shone in the character of Charles Parsons Pettus. The dignity and probity of the Anglo Saxon strain, the vivacity, the curiosity and the zest for life of the French scientist whose researches in minerology, in chemistry and in medicine, were laid at the needs of his fellow men, were mingled in the subject of this sketch. That the French influence was strong was evident in the look and carriage of Charles Pettus. His eager, darting interest, his twinkling eyes, his clear cut features were Gallic, his gay and ardent bearing toward life was French. No picture of him would be complete or true which took no account of the whimsicality that made his manners so delightful. Nor of the ease and fine texture of those manners. Underneath his conscientious and punctilious regard for the rights and comforts of others there rippled a laughing sense of fun, and a quaint humour which flavored his seriousness to the delight of all who knew him. His sweet temper and gentle bearing were the sign of a natural amiability and kindliness. Even his scorn was mild, and consumed its object more by its quiet burning insistence than by its violence.

Tolerant of the differences in men, democratic and just as all fine natures are, he had no patience with the false, the sham, or the meretricious, either in life or business or Art. And he was never more charming than when his ire was aroused. A slight tendency to stammer gave piquancy to his indignation and produced a sizzling staccato effect not volcanic but animated and quite appropriate to his mood and temperament. I think that though he hated ugly

things, ugly traits and motives, he really hated no man and certainly none had other than respect and affection for him. As his life lengthened the widening circle of his acquaintance grew embracing men and women, young and old, rich and poor, talented and prosaic, and to all he was a shining example and a sincere friend. No young man enjoyed the march of progress more alertly, and no old man revelled more sympathetically in the story of the past. History as the record of man's personal relations fascinated him. Local history was to him a living thing, and he followed the ramifications of family ties to the third and fourth generation. This interest in his fellows, and in their interests, this real love of people as human beings, was the basis and the essence of his courtesy.

He is gone from among us, but the influence of a character and a life so vivid must survive for generations. Wherever high purpose, gentle manners, kindliness and urbane tolerance are to be met we will recall our friend and comrade, Charlie Pettus.

SOME LETTERS OF INTEREST.

The following are copies of some interesting letters in the Society's manuscript collections:

Fort Pickering, Chickesaw Bluffs.
September 22nd 1809.

Dear Majr.

I must acknowledge myself remiss in not writing you in answer to several friendly epistles which I have received from you since my return from the Pacific Ocean. continued occupation in the immediate discharge of the duties of a public station will I trust in some measure plead my apology.—

I am now on my way to the City of Washington and had contemplated taking Fort Adams and Orlianes in my rout, but my indisposition has induced me to change my rout and shall now pass through Tennessee and Virginia, the protest of some bills which I have lately drawn on public account form the principal inducement for my going forward at this moment. an explanation is all that is necessary I am sensible to put all matters right, in the mean time the protest of a draught however just has drawn down upon me at one moment all my private debts which have excessively embarassed me. I hope you will therefore pardon me for asking you to remit as soon as is convenient the sum of $200 which you have informed me you hold for me— I calculated on having the pleasure to see you at Fort Adams as I passed, but am informed by Capt. Russel the commanding officer of this place that you are stationed on the West side of the Mississippi.—

You will direct to me at the City of Washington untill the last of December after which I expect I shall be on my return to St Louis.

Your sincere friend, &
Obt Servant
(Signed) Meriwether Lewis.

To Maj. Amos Stoddard.
Fort Adams.
forwarded to Washington City.

Nashville, Sept. 28, 1809.

Dr Sir

I arrived here two days ago on my way to Maryland—yesterday Majr Stoddart of the army arrived here from Fort Adams, and informs me that in his passage through the indian nation, in the vicinity of Chickasaw Bluffs he saw a person, immediately from the Bluffs who informed him, that Governor Lewis had arrived there (some time previous to his leaving it) in a state of mental derangement, that he had made several attempts to put an end to his own existence, which this person had prevented, and that Capt Russell the commandg officer at the Bluffs had taken him into his own quarters where he was obliged to keep a strict watch over him to prevent his committing violence on himself and had caused his boat to be unloaded and the key to be secured in his stores.*

I am in hopes this account will prove exaggerated tho' I fear there is too much truth in it— As the post leaves this tomorrow I have thought it would not be improper to communicate these circumstances as I have heard them, to you.

I have the Honor to be, Sir with much esteem & respect

Yr obt Serv.

(Signed) Jas. Howe.

Fredk. Bates Esq.

Secy. of the Territory U Louisiana.

*There have been many disputes concerning the manner of death of Meriwether Lewis. President Jefferson always believed that Lewis died by his own hand. Joshua Grinder, at whose house he died, has frequently been charged with his murder, as well as Gov. Lewis' valet.

River a Dubois January 15th, 1804

Dear Major:—

I have posponed writing to you untile this time with a view of haveing something worth informing you relative to this Country, but have been disaptd. and this hasty scrawl will do little more than inform you that I am in tolerable health. I have not been from my Camp to any house since my arrival here. It is hourly expected that the Americans will take possession of the other side of the Mississippi, all the

Inhabitants appear anxious except the people of St. Louis, who are engaged in the Indian Trade which they are doubtful will be divided amongst those whome will trade on the best terms. Capt. Amos Stoddard of the Corps of Artillerists, who is now stationed at Kaskaskia is appointed the Commandant of the Upper Louisiana, and to take possession of St. Louis with his Compy. as soon as orders arrive from New Orleans to the Spanish D. Gov. to give up possession which is hourly expectd. Capts. D. Bissell (at Mascau) & Carmeikle to receive possession of the two Posts & Settlements below the mouth of the Ohio.

From Sister Thruston's letter of the 30th Nov. which is the only one I have received, I find Nancy Croghan was unwell, I hope she has recovered. I wish much to hear whether she has or not.

My situation is as comfortable as could be expected in the woods, & on the frontiers; the Country back of me is butiful beyond description; a rush bottom well timbered, from one to three miles wide, from the river to a Prairie; which runs nearly parrilal to the river from about three miles above me, to Kaskaskia and is from three to 7 miles wide, with gradual rises and several streams of running water, and good mill seats; This Prairie has Settlements on its edges from Kahoka within three miles of this place.

The Missouri which mouths immediately opposite me is the river we intend ascending as soon as the weather will permit. This Great river which seems to dispute the preeminence with the Mississippi, comes in at right angles from the West, and its great sheets of muddy Ice (which is now running) against the Eastern bank—we are collecting what information we can of this river and its resources so as we may make just calculations before we set out. I shall be glad to here from you at all times—please present my best wishes to my sister Lucy & Fanny & the children, to them and your self I tender the assurances sincere esteem & friendship.

(Signed) Wm. Clark.

[To Major William Croghan, who married Lucy Clark, sister of William Clark.]

St. Charles May 21st, 1804

Dear Sir:—

By Capt. Lewis who arrived from St. Louis today I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 2nd instant and am happy to here of the recovery of your family & my Brother, whom I was much concerned about. I am sorry to here that the negrows of the estate of Mr. Thruston hired so low, perhaps they may hire for more the next year. My friend Capt. Lewis expressed some sorrow that you happened not to be at home at the time he passed down, but hopes to see you on his return to the U. States, as to my self; I *have, do* and *shall* always have that Brotherly affection for you which you are well assured I always possessed, and hope that in less than two years to see you & that family (yours) whome I have every affection for, at your own home. My rout is uncertain. I think it more than probable that Capt. Lewis or myself will return by sea, the other by the same rout we proceed, the time is uncertain—all the alterations which I did not inform you of has been made since I saw you, and the law authorising the president to explore the country &c. has just come to my knowledge.

I have been at the place five days waiting for Capt. Lewis who had been detained at St. Louis to fix off the Osage chiefs—he has just arrived and we shall leave this village immediately and proceed on our journey. We have had a great deal of rain thunder Lightening with wind for several days past, which discommodes me a little in setting out.

The politeness of the gentlemen of this place and about twelve or fifteen who came from St. Louis to see us set out and are constantly with us, prevents me giving you at this time, a description of the Country, river, or the occurrences which have or may happen.

Capt. Lewis joins me in the most sincere wish fore you my sister and the families health & happiness for many years.

With every Sentiment your
Sincere friend
(Signed) Wm. Clark.

Endorsement—Wm. Clark letter of May 21st 1804 to Maj. Croghan.

LETTER FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON TO NATHANIEL BURWELL, GREAT GRANDFATHER OF ARCHIBALD G. HUTCHINSON OF ST. LOUIS.

Monticello, March 14, 1818

Dear Sir:—

Your letter of Feb. 17th, found me suffering under an attack of rheumatism, which has but now left me at sufficient ease to attend to the letters I have received. A plan of female education has never been a subject of systematic contemplation with me. It has occupied my attention so far only as the education of my own daughters occasionally required. Considering that they would be placed in a country situation, where little aid could be obtained from abroad, I thought it essential to give them a solid education which might enable them, when become mothers, to educate their own daughters and even to direct the course for sons, should their fathers be lost, be incapable, or inattentive. My surviving daughter accordingly, the mother of many daughters as well as sons, has made their education the object of her life; and being a better judge of the practical part than myself, it is with her aid and that of one of her Elves that I shall subjoin a catalogue of the books for such a course of reading as we have practised.

A great obstacle to good education is the inordinate passion prevalent for novels, and the time lost in that reading which should be instructively employed, when this poison infects the mind, it destroys its tone, and revolts it against wholesome reading—reason and fact, plain and unadorned, are rejected. Nothing can engage attention unless dressed in the figments of fancy; and nothing so bedecked comes amiss. The result is a bloated imagination, sickly judgment, and disgust towards all the real business of life. This mass of trash however is not without some distinction; some few modelling their narratives, altho fictitious, on the incidents of real life, have been able to make them interesting and useful vehicles of a sound morality. Such I think, are Marmontel's new moral tales; but not his old ones, which are really

immoral such are the writings of Miss Edgeworth and some of those of Madam Genlis, for a like reason too much poetry should not be indulged. Some is useful for forming style and taste. Pope, Dryden, Thomson, Shakespeare, and the French Moliere, Racine, the Corneilles may be read with pleasure and improvement.

The French language, become that of the general intercourse of nations, and from their extraordinary advances, now the depository of all science, is an indispensable part of education for both sexes. In the subjoined catalogue therefore, I have placed the books of both languages indifferently, according as the one or the other offers what is best.

The ornaments too, and the amusements of life are entitled to their portion of attention, these for a female, are dancing, drawing and musick—the first is a healthy exercise, elegant, and very attractive for young people. Every affectionate parent would be pleased to see his daughter qualified to participate with her companions, and without awkwardness at least, in the circles of festivity, of which she occasionally becomes a part.

It is a necessary accomplishment therefore, altho' of short use; for the French rule is wise, that no lady dances after marriage. This is founded in solid physical reasons; gestation & nursing leaving little time to a married lady, when this exercise can be either safe or innocent. Drawing is thought less of in this country than in Europe. It is an innocent & engaging amusement, often useful, and a qualification not to be neglected in one who is to become a mother & an instructor. Musick is invaluable where a person has an ear. Where they have not it should not be attempted. It furnishes a delightful recreation for the hours of respite from the cares of the day, and lasts us through life. The taste of this country too calls for this accomplishment more strongly than for either of the others. I need say nothing of household economy, in which the mothers of our country are generally skilled and generally careful to instruct their daughters. We all know its value, and that diigence and dexterity in all its processes are inestimable treasures. The order and economy of a house

are as honorable to the mistress as those of the farm to the master and if either be neglected, ruin follows, and children destitute of the means of living.

This, sir, is offered as a summary sketch on the subject on which I have not thought much. It probably contains nothing but what has already occurred to yourself, and claims your acceptance on no other ground than as a testimony of my respect for your wishes, and of my great esteem and respect.

(Signed) Th. Jefferson.

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Lack of space prevents acknowledgement in this volume of all the contributions of unusual historic interest received by the Society. The generosity of the donors has been acknowledged by letter and recorded in the minutes of the Advisary Board. Conspicuous among them are the generous gifts of the following:

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This number completes Volume IV of the Missouri Historical Society Collections. Lack of funds has made the publication irregular. Since moving to its present location the work of the Society has increased a hundredfold and the large expenses of maintenance naturally are a drain on its reserve. The Society keeps the Jefferson Memorial open to the public every day in the year, excepting only Christmas, New Year's day, Fourth of July, and Thanksgiving day, and draws an average yearly attendance of two hundred and fifty thousand people.

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*Deceased

McCaffery, James, St. Louis, Mo.
McCaughen, William, St. Louis, Mo.
McClure, C. H., Warrensburg, Mo.
McKittrick, Walter, St. Louis, Mo.
McMillan, N. A., St. Louis, Mo.
McNair, Lilburn G., St. Louis, Mo.
Maffitt, Miss Emilie, St. Louis, Mo.
Maffitt, Thomas S., St. Louis, Mo.
Maffitt, William, St. Louis, Mo.
Mallinckrodt, Edward, St. Louis, Mo.
Markham, George D., St. Louis, Mo.
Markman, Morris E., St. Louis, Mo.
Marshall, Prof. T. M., St. Louis, Mo.
Martin, William McChesney, St. Louis, Mo.
Matthews, Leonard, St. Louis, Mo.
Mauran, J. Lawrence, St. Louis, Mo.
May, David, St. Louis, Mo.
Mellier, K. Duncan, St. Louis, Mo.
Mepham, George S., St. Louis, Mo.
Merner, Garfield, D., St. Louis, Mo.
Merrell, George R., St. Louis, Mo.
Mesker, Frank, St. Louis, Mo.
Meyer, George A., St. Louis, Mo.
Meyerson, Mrs. Samuel F., St. Louis, Mo.
Miller, Clarence E., St. Louis, Mo.
Miller, Joseph G., St. Louis, Mo.
Miner, Wm. Harvey, St. Louis, Mo.
Missouri Pharmaceutical Assn., St. Louis, Mo.
Mitchell, Miss Mary, St. Louis, Mo.
More, Edward A., St. Louis, Mo.
Morrison, Adele S., St. Louis, Mo.
Morton, Mrs. Jeannette F., St. Louis, Mo.
Morton, Stratford Lee, St. Louis, Mo.
Moser, Mrs. Leo, St. Louis, Mo.
Mudd, Dr. Harvey G., St. Louis, Mo.

Nagel, Charles, St. Louis, Mo.
Nichols, Robert M., St. Louis, Mo.
Nicolaus, Henry, St. Louis, Mo.
Niedringhaus, George W., St. Louis, Mo.
Niedringhaus, Thomas K., St. Louis, Mo.
Niedringhaus, W. Warne, St. Louis, Mo.
Niemann, Gustav W., St. Louis, Mo.
Norris, Mrs. E. A., Joplin, Mo.
Norvell, J. Saunders, St. Louis, Mo.
Nugent, Daniel C., St. Louis, Mo.

O'Connor, Miss Margaret Brown, St. Louis, Mo.
O'Fallon, Chas. Pope, St. Louis, Mo.
O'Meara, Gen. John B., St. Louis, Mo.
O'Reilly, Dr. R. J., St. Louis, Mo.
O'Reilly, Joseph M., St. Louis, Mo.
Orr, Isaac H., St. Louis, Mo.
Orthwein, William D., St. Louis, Mo.
Ottofy, Frank L., St. Louis, Mo.

Papin, Edward V., St. Louis, Mo.
Parker, George T., St. Louis, Mo.
Parks, Dr. W. F., St. Louis, Mo.
Pauly, Peter J., St. Louis, Mo.
Pettingill, H. J., St. Louis, Mo.
*Pettus, Charles P., St. Louis, Mo.
Pettus, J. Harold, St. Louis, Mo.
Pettus, Morrison, St. Louis, Mo.
Pettus, William G., St. Louis, Mo.
Pfeiffer, Gustavus A., New York City
Pflager, H. M., St. Louis, Mo.
Pierce, H. Clay, New York City
Pierce, Thomas M., St. Louis, Mo.
Pitzman, Julius, St. Louis, Mo.
Pommer, Robert W., St. Louis, Mo.
Priest, Henry S., St. Louis, Mo.
Primm, Alex. T., Jr., St. Louis, Mo.
Prunty, Charles E., St. Louis, Mo.
Pryor, E. B., St. Louis, Mo.
Pulitzer, Joseph, Jr., St. Louis, Mo.

Rassieur, Leo, St. Louis, Mo.
Raymond, Mrs. Francis, St. Louis, Mo.
Rebstock, Charles, St. Louis, Mo.
Rector, James Alcorn, St. Louis, Mo.
Reilly, Dr. Charles, St. Louis, Mo.
Reller, August A., St. Louis, Mo.
Rice, Mrs. Jonathan, St. Louis, Mo.
RoBards, John Lewis, Hannibal, Mo.

*Deceased

Roberts, Mrs. Elzey M., St. Louis, Mo.
Robinson, A. S., St. Louis, Mo.
Roblee, J. H., St. Louis, Mo.
Rose, H. B., St. Louis, Mo.
Rothensteiner, Rev. John E., St. Louis, Mo.
Rowse, E. C., St. Louis, Mo.
Rowse, Edward J., St. Louis, Mo.
*Ruf, Frank A., St. Louis, Mo.
Russell, Ernest J., St. Louis, Mo.
Russell, J. K., Woodlawn, L. I.
Ryan, O'Neil, St. Louis, Mo.

St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo.
Scanlan, Philip C., St. Louis, Mo.
Schaaf, Mrs. Edward, St. Marys, Mo.
Schenk, Henry, St. Louis, Mo.
Schiek, W. W., St. Louis, Mo.
Schnaider, Walter L., St. Louis, Mo.
Scott, Oreon E., St. Louis, Mo.
Seidel, Julius, St. Louis, Mo.
Selph, Colin M., St. Louis, Mo.
Senter, Charles P., St. Louis, Mo.
Shapleigh, A. L., St. Louis, Mo.
Shapleigh, Mrs. John, St. Louis, Mo.
Shapleigh, R. W., St. Louis, Mo.
Sharp, Fidelio C., St. Louis, Mo.
Shaughnessy, Martin, St. Louis, Mo.
Shepley, John F., St. Louis, Mo.
Shelton, Mrs. Theo., St. Louis, Mo.
Sherer, S. L., St. Louis, Mo.
Shipley, Prof. Frederick W., St. Louis, Mo.
Shoemaker, W. A., St. Louis, Mo.
Simmons, George W., St. Louis, Mo.
Skinker, Thomas K., St. Louis, Mo.
Skinner, C. M., St. Louis, Mo.
Slosser, Robert B., St. Louis, Mo.
Sluder, Dr. Greenfield, St. Louis, Mo.
Smith, David S. H., St. Louis, Mo.
Smith, Channing S., St. Louis, Mo.
Smith, Dr. Elsworth, St. Louis, Mo.
Smith, James E., St. Louis, Mo.
Smith, L. F., St. Louis, Mo.
Smith, William H., St. Louis, Mo.
Smyth, S. Watts, St. Louis, Mo.
Souvay, Rev. Charles, Webster Groves, Mo.
Spackler, Richard C., St. Louis, Mo.
Spear, Mrs. William Watt, St. Louis, Mo.
Spencer, Eugene J., St. Louis, Mo.
Spencer, Dr. T. E., St. Louis, Mo.
Starke, Bruce, St. Louis, Mo.
Steedman, George F., St. Louis, Mo.
*Steigers, W. C., St. Louis, Mo.
Stephens, Eugene, St. Louis, Mo.
Stevens, Mrs. Walter B., Burdick, Kansas.
Stockstrom, Charles A., St. Louis, Mo.
Street, Elwood, St. Louis, Mo.
Stubblefield, W. H., Jr., Cape Girardeau, Mo.
Sudholt, F. A., St. Louis, Mo.
Suppan, Leo, St. Louis, Mo.
Sutherland, Geo. W., St. Louis, Mo.
Sutter, Dr. Otto, St. Louis, Mo.
Swacker, Mrs. Grace Lee, Overland, Mo.
Tainter, Wm. H. H., St. Louis, Mo.
Tansey, George J., St. Louis, Mo.
Taussig, Benjamin J., St. Louis, Mo.
Taylor, Daniel G., St. Louis, Mo.
Taylor, Walter C., St. Louis, Mo.
Ten Broek, Gerritt H., St. Louis, Mo.
Thacher, Arthur, St. Louis, Mo.
Thompson, W. B., St. Louis, Mo.
Thomy, J. P., St. Louis, Mo.
Tiffany, Dexter, Jr., St. Louis, Mo.
Tourville, George S., St. Louis, Mo.
Tower, Miss Sarah L., St. Louis, Mo.
Tracy, Nelson Nicholson, St. Louis, Mo.
Tredway, Mrs. Dwight, St. Louis, Mo.
Turner, Voluntine C., St. Louis, Mo.
Tuttle, Dr. George M., St. Louis, Mo.
Twentieth Century Art Club, St. Louis, Mo.

Usher, Roland G., St. Louis, Mo.

Verzosa, Paul R., New Orleans, La.

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*Deceased

Vierling, Fred, St. Louis, Mo.
Voelker, Frederick, St. Louis, Mo.
Von Schrenk, Herman, St. Louis, Mo.
Voyles, David W., St. Louis, Mo.

Wade, Festus J., St. Louis, Mo.
Wagner, Henry R., Berkeley, Calif.
Wagoner, Mrs. Harry E., St. Louis, Mo.
Walbridge, Merrell P., St. Louis, Mo.
Walker, G. Herbert, New York City
Walsh, Edward J., St. Louis, Mo.
Walsh, Mrs. Julia M., St. Louis, Mo.
Waltke, Louis H., St. Louis, Mo.
Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
Watts, F. O., St. Louis, Mo.
Wells, Erastus, St. Louis, Mo.
Wells, Rolla, St. Louis, Mo.
Werner, Louis, St. Louis, Mo.
Werner, Percy, St. Louis, Mo.
West, Thomas H., St. Louis, Mo.
Weston, Mrs. W. B., St. Louis, Mo.
White, David B., St. Louis, Mo.
Widman, Frederick, St. Louis, Mo.
Wiggins, Charles, St. Louis, Mo.
Wight, Ira E., St. Louis, Mo.
Wilkinson, Melville L., St. Louis, Mo.
Williams, J. Edwin, Jr., St. Louis, Mo.
Williams, Tyrrell, St. Louis, Mo.
Wislizenus, Fred'k A., St. Louis, Mo.
Witte, F. A., St. Louis, Mo.
Witte, Oscar R., St. Louis, Mo.
Woerner, William F., St. Louis, Mo.
Wood, John M., St. Louis, Mo.
Woodward, Walter B., St. Louis, Mo.
Wright, Guy H., St. Louis, Mo.
Wulfing, Charles, St. Louis, Mo.
Wulfiing, John M., St. Louis, Mo.
Zeibig, Fred G., St. Louis, Mo.
Zumbalen, Joseph H., St. Louis, Mo.

SUPPORTING MEMBERS.

Bemis, Judson S., St. Louis, Mo.

LIFE MEMBERS.

Barclay, Shepard, St. Louis, Mo.
Bascom, Joseph D., St. Louis, Mo.
Bixby, David A., St. Louis, Mo.
Bixby, William K., St. Louis, Mo.
Blewett, Scott H., St. Louis, Mo.
Boyce, John P., St. Louis, Mo.
Boyce, Capt. Joseph, St. Louis, Mo.
Bridge, Hudson E., St. Louis, Mo.
Durkee, Miss Laura, St. Louis, Mo.
Gibson, Gerolt, St. Louis, Mo.
Harris, Mrs. Lloyd G., St. Louis, Mo.
Hoadley, Edgar R., St. Louis, Mo.
Ittner, Anthony, St. Louis, Mo.
Jewett, Mrs. C. N., St. Louis, Mo.
Kennedy, Edward A., St. Louis, Mo.
McMillan, Wm. Northrop, Nairobi, British East Africa.
O'Malley, Miss Kate, St. Louis, Mo.
O'Neill, Edmund J., St. Louis, Mo.
Owen, Miss Mary A., St. Joseph, Mo.
Prynne, C. M., Boston, Mass.
Stevens, Dillon T., St. Louis, Mo.
Stevens, Walter B., Burdick, Kansas
Taylor, F. C., St. Louis, Mo.
Thompson, W. B., St. Louis, Mo.
Whelpley, Henry M., St. Louis, Mo.
Wtitaker, Edwards, St. Louis, Mo.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Abel, Dr. Annie Heloise, Smith College.
Alvord, Clarence W., Urbana, Ill.
Ayer, Edward E., Chicago, Ill.
Baskett, James Newton, Mexico, Mo.
Beer, William, New Orleans, La.
Blodgett, Wells H., St. Louis, Mo.
Brown, Charles C., Madison, Wis.
Dalton, Rev. William James, Kansas City, Mo.
DeLand, Charles E., Pierre, S. Dak.

Breckenridge, William C., St. Louis, Mo.
Pershing, Gen. John J., U. S. A.
Wright, Gen. William, U. S. A.
Wyman, Henry, P., New York

Villiers du Terrage, Baron, Paris, France.
Ferril, Will C., Denver, Colo.
Fletcher, Miss Alice C., Cambridge, Mass.
Ford, Worthington C., Boston, Mass.
Fowke, Gerard, Madison, Indiana.
Glennon, Most Rev. John J., St. Louis, Mo.
Griffith, Elmer C., Liberty, Mo.
Holmes, Wm. H., Washington, D. C.
Horack, Frank C., Iowa City, Iowa.
Houck, Louis, Cape Girardeau, Mo.
Jones, Rev. A. E., S. J., Montreal, Canada.
Kellogg, Dr. Louise Phelps, Madison, Wisconsin.
Killian, Edward A. K., Manhattan, Kan.
McCurdy, Dr. Geo. Grant, New Haven, Conn.
McLaughlin, A. C., Chicago, Ill.
Mills, W. C., Columbus, Ohio.
Moore, Clarence B., Philadelphia, Pa.
Nuttall, Mrs. Zelia, Coyoacan, Mex.
Prince, Le Baron Bradford, Santa Fe, N. Mex.
Pritchett, Henry S., New York City.
Putnam, Frederick Ward, Cambridge, Mass.
Quibell, Jas. E., Cairo, Egypt.
Riley, Franklin L., Lexington, Va.
Robinson, Doane, Pierre, S. Dak.
Rowland, Dunbar, Jackson, Miss.
Shambaugh, Benjamin F., Iowa City, Iowa.
Shepard, Edward M., Springfield, Mo.
Snider, Dr. Denton J., St. Louis, Mo.
Stephens, Edwin W., Columbia, Mo.
Upham, Dr. Warren, St. Paul, Minn.
Von Tourenhout, Rev. C. L., Ste. Genevieve, Mo.
Wagner, Dr. W. F., Washington, D. C.
Wheless, Joseph, St. Louis, Mo.
White, Robert M., Mexico, Mo.
Whitney, Mrs. Carrie Westlake, Kansas City, Mo.
Wright, Purd B., Kansas City, Mo.
Young, F. C., Eugene, Oregon.

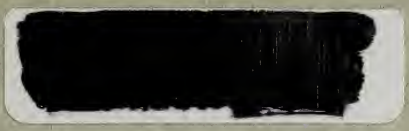
ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.

Alvord, Mrs. Clarence, St. Paul, Minn.
Baumhoff, F. W., St. Louis, Mo.
Branch, Mrs. J. H., Kansas City, Mo.
Campbell, Robert A., Bowling Green, Mo.
Chamberlain, John, Lexington, Mo.
Chouteau, Mrs. Lucille Chauvin, St. Louis, Mo.
Chouteau, Pierre, Jr., St. Louis, Mo.
Dougherty, Capt. Lewis B., Liberty, Mo.
Eschmann, Rev. Charles J., Du Quoin, Ill.
Falbisaner, Adolph, St. Paul, Minn.
Fuerbringer, Ludwig E., St. Louis, Mo.
*Goebel, Rudolph, St. Charles, Mo.
Gooding, Hattie B., St. Louis, Mo.
Griswold, Howard M., Louisville, Ky.
Hanson, Joseph M., Yankton, S. Dak.
Hart, Mrs. John A. (Mary Lucas)
Headley, O. M., Morehouse, Mo.
Hopkins, E. N., St. Louis, Mo.
Hubbard, Robert M., St. Louis, Mo.
Hudson, Franklin, Kansas City, Mo.
Jewett, W. O. L., Shelbina, Mo.
Jones, Miss V. A. L.
Kelley, Mrs. Alfred J. (Francine Lucas), St. Louis, Mo.
Koch, Louis F., La Grange, Mo.
Kotte, Rev. W. A., Weingerten, Mo.
Krone, Charles A., St. Louis.
Llewellyn, J. F., Mexico, Mo.
McCormack, Andrew Phelps, Dallas, Texas.
McEvers, N. D., Montezuma, Ill.
McJimsey, E. E. E., Springfield, Mo.
Mizner, Rev. Henry W. St. Louis, Mo.

Moore, Mrs. O. E. (Adele Breckenridge), Caledonia, Mo.
Oliver, Robert E., Cape Girardeau, Mo.
Painter, W. R., Jefferson City, Mo.
Pikey, B. F., Conran, Mo.
Rader, Perry S., Jefferson City, Mo.
Rodgers, Thomas L., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Smith, Miss Valentine, Chicago, Ill.
Smyth-Davis, Mrs. M. F., Kennett, Mo.
Sosey, Frank H., Palmyra, Mo.
Spencer, Rev. J., Slater, Mo.
Stipes, M. F., Jamesport, Mo.
Swanger, John E., Jefferson City, Mo.
Turner, Mrs. James Lucas (Lucille Chouteau), St. Louis, Mo.

MEMBERS "IN MEMORIAM."

Filley, Lieut. J. Dwight, Jr.
Griswold, Joseph L.
Watson, Lieut. Percy.
Wear, Capt. Arthur Y.
Peugnet, Mrs. Virginia Sarpy



The Size of a Bank

¶ Size, in either extreme, limits a bank's facilities. Because of legal restrictions, small banks often are unable to extend adequate credits to an individual customer. Because of the very nature of things, extremely large banks often are unable to render the friendly and personal service which depositors like to receive.

¶ The Mississippi Valley Trust Company's capital, surplus, and undivided profits of over eight and a half million dollars permit it to handle credit requirements of almost any size.

¶ Yet, with its forty million dollars of resources and its thousands of customers, it never has become too big to extend the kind of individual service and attention that makes one feel he is a valued part of its clientele.

MISSISSIPPI VALLEY TRUST CO.

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